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Rhodesian



Record

1898



to

1972



A fair and factual record of Rhodesian affairs

by H. Margaret Crawford.

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FOREWORD

by Ewart Redfern

Africa is a huge Continent of over 300 million people, and only about 5 million of these are white. It is divided into over 50 "states", and all but four are now ruled by black Africans, or Arabs.

Between 1960 and 1970 there were 28 violent changes of government, and about 3 million blacks were killed or maimed by blacks, in the states north of the Zambesi. In S. Africa in the same period, 69 were killed at the Sharpeville riots, and a few hundred Communist terrorists have been killed while operating inside Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories. Others have been captured and imprisoned.

In Africa nearly all the main buildings, roads, railways, agriculture, industries, reservoirs, hospitals, modern housing, social services and inventions, have been initiated and planned by men of European origin, and many Europeans are still used by African-ruled states to assist them in their quest for higher standards of living.

It is against this background that Margaret Crawford has undertaken a great deal of study and research to present a fair and factual record of Rhodesian affairs since its "discovery" only 74 years ago. She also comments objectively on the associated political problems.

Anyone with friends or relations in Southern Africa, or anyone contemplating emigration, will find this booklet a valuable contribution to a fascinating subject.

I. BEGINNINGS.

It was thanks to Cecil John Rhodes that the Union Jack was first planted on a hillock near the present capital city of Salisbury on September 12, 1890. It was on Rhodes' own initiative that emissaries were sent to Lobengula, the redoubtable Chief of the fierce Matabele. Portugal had claimed the whole of Central Africa between her territories on the West and East coasts; and this had spurred Rhodes to take action. He came to London, and obtained permission from Lord Salisbury to found the British South Africa Company, which received its charter in 1889.

Though Rhodes made a fortune out of his African activities, he used the whole of it in furthering his ideal of the British Empire as one of the greatest organised world-forces for good. His great maxim was: "Equal rights for every civilised man." He liked, and was trusted by, Natives; and was one of the warmest supporters of Lovedale, the missionary college for Native education in South Africa.

The objects of the B.S.A. Co. were to extend the railway from Kimberley to the Zambesi; to encourage emigration and colonisation; to promote trade and commerce; and to secure all mineral rights in return for guaranteed protection of rights to tribal chiefs. It must be remembered that Germany, Portugal and the Dutch Transvaal were all contending for paramount influence in Central Africa: and African tribes had already learned to prefer British protection to Portuguese or Dutch encouragement of slavery.

By 1892, there were 1500 white settlers prospecting in Matabeleland; the number of Africans being estimated at between 300,000 and 350,000.

The Matabele Wars. The warlike Matabele, who themselves had invaded the country from Zululand, had for fifty years used the neighbourhood—originally densely populated by the pastoral Mashona—as their slave-raiding ground. They did not take kindly to having this practice stopped: and two or three Matabele risings—mostly directed against the Mashona—were put down by the white settlers. In 1896, however, there was a serious rising of 10,000 Matabele; who forced the white settlers at Buluwayo to go into laager, and British troops had to be called in.

It was then that Rhodes made his famous gesture for peace. Camping for six weeks in a tent at the foot of the impregnable Matopo Hills — unarmed, accompanied by only three friends, and too far from the nearest British troops to be rescued — he waited patiently until the Matabele Chiefs should summon him to join their "indaba" (council) in the depths of the hills.

At last a guide came to conduct him to the secret meeting-place: and further staking his life, he went. At the end of a long discussion with the Chiefs, Rhodes demanded: "Now — is it peace, or war?" And the Chiefs, throwing down their staves, cried: "It is peace!"

Nearly seventy years later, in 1965, a Rhodesian Chief gave his own version of that "indaba," as handed down to him. "Rhodes," he observed, "set us our great example when he said that everybody must work together, put down their weapons and work as one community. And we did this, and have lived very happily together."

Rhodes' own comment about the famous "indaba" in the Matopo Hills was that it was one of those incidents "which make life worth living."

End of B.S.A.Co. In 1923, the British Colonial Office submitted a scheme to the B.S.A.Co. for settling the claims of the Company and for establishing Responsible

Government throughout Southern Rhodesia (as it then was) under the administration of the Crown. Britain paid the B.S.A.Co. £3½ million for the land and buildings of Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia's share was valued at £2 million: and Southern Rhodesia bought back its own land and buildings by paying £2 million to Great Britain. *This was the first (and only) time that any part of the British Commonwealth paid for its own self-government.* Rhodesia has never cost the British people one penny. In addition, her all-out aid to us during two world wars was financed by her own efforts.

II. PROGRESS TO SELF-GOVERNMENT.

From the beginning of Responsible Government in 1923, all British subjects resident in Southern Rhodesia, of whatever colour, were entitled to be registered on the Common Voters' Roll if they could fulfil certain qualifications. This was in line with the "colour-blind" franchise which obtained in the Cape Colony (of South Africa) when Rhodes was Prime Minister; and was in marked contrast to the conditions in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) where the Natives—administered by the British Colonial Office—were designated as "British Protected Persons" and were not entitled to a vote unless they took British citizenship, and fulfilled qualifications higher than those necessary in Southern Rhodesia.

Qualifications were essential before entitlement to a vote: for Central Africa had never had the contact with white men which successive seafaring nations had brought to the coasts. An expedition researching into cases of sleeping-sickness in 1912, in a remote part of Southern Rhodesia, found Natives living in early Iron Age conditions. To obtain registration on the S. Rhodesian Common Voters' Roll a man (or woman) had to have been receiving wages at the rate of £100 per annum, or had to be the registered owner of property worth £150. He (or she) had to be able to sign his name, write his address and occupation, and if necessary write 50 words in English from dictation.

Of course £150, even in 1923, was a lot of money for a black Rhodesian who was seeing Western civilisation for the first time. Even so, a small number of Indians, coloureds and Africans were registered on the Voters' Roll right back in 1898: and the slow but sure improvement in Native standards brought a real increase in prosperity. In 1930, the LAND APPORTIONMENT ACT made it possible for Natives to acquire land on individual tenure — a thing impossible in N. Rhodesia, under the British Colonial Office. Instruction in better use of their land, and protection in the selling-price for their crops, resulted in the gradual increase in wealth of African farmers, making some of them qualified to vote.

At first, the African had no interest in education or Western democracy. He preferred to live his own life in the Native Reserves; coming to the towns to work for a few weeks or months — long enough to buy knives, blankets or cooking-pots. Authority, to him, was that of the tribe under its Chief. Decisions were made by the Chief after the whole tribe had discussed a course of action. The idea of an individual vote was unknown to the Central African.

Gradually — thanks to the missionaries supported by the Government — primary education began to spread, and new ideas to percolate. By 1946, although only 136 Africans had bothered to register on the Voters' Roll, it was estimated that at least 6,000 could have done so. Admittedly again, this was but a small proportion of the total African population; which had risen by leaps and bounds under White protection. But it was a great step forward for the Central African; who was exchanging slavery and primitive conditions for enlightened farming and other jobs, some of which were on an equal footing with white workers. A small African middle class, based chiefly on the urbanised areas, has been slowly emerging; but 60% of the African population is still represented by its Chiefs.

The Socialist-inspired parrot-cry of "One man, one vote" has especially been rejected by the smaller tribes — i.e. the Ndebele, who have seen its results in countries to the north of them. The Ndebele have stated their intention of demanding the division of Rhodesia into two separate countries should "one man, one vote" be imposed upon them.

In the "African Times" of August 16th, 1967, under the heading "N'jebe says" was the following: "Last weekend I went down to Manicaland. This is part of the country which Mr. Percy Mkudu, Leader of the U.P.P., represents in Parliament. While I was there, I spoke to several members of his party and all except one expressed concern. They said that at a meeting which Mr. Mkudu addressed in Sakubva some months ago, he had clearly stated that his party was against "one man, one vote." This pleased the people, because they had seen what had happened in other parts of Africa where "one man, one vote" had been brought in. They have read of the misery that has been inflicted upon the poor people in those parts of Africa, and have no wish for it to come to this country. Therefore, they were alarmed when they read in the paper that Mr. Mkudu had written to the "Times" of London to say that his party, should it come to power, would bring in "one man, one vote."

III. TRIBAL SYSTEM.

The African tribal structure is intricately involved with communal life and religious belief. It is based on a "kinship" system which establishes strong ties between a man's family and, through marriage, with the families of all those living round him. The tribal African is not an individual. With the co-operation of his kin, he holds lands, property, cattle; produces goods and shares their consumption. With them he shares illness, famine, religious belief and submission to tribal law. His conduct and everyday problems are sorted out under the guidance of his traditional Chiefs and Headmen.

The important Mashona tribe, for instance, is organised into autonomous political units; each under a Chief with a defined territory. Each unit is subdivided into three socially and politically important groups, viz:- the village, or "kraal"; the tribal ward, or "duna"; and the Chiefdom. Each ward, under a hereditary or appointed Headman, contains a varying number of kraals. The Chiefdom comprises the wards, gathered into a large territorial and political unit under a hereditary Chief. Though Headmen can be appointed, a Chief derives his position solely from hereditary right, in accordance with tribal laws and customs which dictate the rules of succession. Various spiritual ceremonies must precede the selection of a Chief, and traditional procedures must be observed.

A public investigation into the new Chief's claim is held; and it is extremely important that his claim should "satisfy the spirits" and thereby receive the unanimous support of the people. There is no "Opposition" in tribal councils. Once an overwhelming vote is given, the whole tribe concurs in the result. Therefore, as Mr. Ian Smith has pointed out, no Rhodesian Chief could be removed without the consent of the tribesmen. If a Government "stooge" Chief were appointed (as the Wilson Government tried to suggest) he would simply be driven out. Chiefs receive a Government allowance as compensation for the loss of certain traditional sources of income, but this allowance is only part of their total income. Chiefs cannot be dismissed for disagreement with Government policy, but only for serious misconduct — and then only after discussion with tribesmen and Headmen.

Chiefs always consulted until Domboshawa. Chiefs and Headmen are not despotic. They consider it their duty to express the feelings of their people. Chiefs, Headmen and kraal-leaders always have advisers who are closely in touch with the people; and every male adult has a right to participate in discussions and air his views.

From Rhodes downward, until the fiasco of the Domboshawa Indaba (or Chiefs' Council) in 1964, this has always been recognised by Britain; and the Chiefs have always been consulted over any important step. Before Responsible Government in 1923, white Native Commissioners explained to Chiefs and Headmen that Rhodesia was about to become a self-governing Colony. In 1953, at the formation of the Central African Federation, Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker as Secretary of State sought the views of African Rhodesians through meetings with Chiefs and Headmen throughout the country. In 1961, when a new Constitution was being negotiated with Britain, Mr. Duncan Sandys (similarly Secretary of State) insisted on legislation to set up a Council of Chiefs "to give expression to African opinion in the Tribal Trust Lands." This Act is still in force: and repeats the constitutional definition of a Tribesman as a "person under tribal law and custom (who) is recognised as a member of a community under the control or leadership of a Chief appointed and holding office under law."

The Domboshawa Indaba of 1964 was the first time that the British Government had shown lack of confidence in the ability of Rhodesian Chiefs to express the feelings of their own tribesmen. Mr. Wilson gave one hour of his time to the Chiefs; and nearly a full day to rival Nationalist delegations led by men who had never fought a Western-type election nor been appointed through the councils of their tribes. One cannot help wondering what would have been Mr. Wilson's opinion of the trustworthiness of the Chiefs' verdict if they had voted against Independence instead of for it.

Chiefs' support for Mr. Ian Smith. In January, 1967, after the collapse of the "Tiger" talks and the imposition of sanctions, the Council of Chiefs sent to Mr. Ian Smith an expression of "deep satisfaction" with the stand he had taken. They promised to stand "firm like a rock" in his support, and pledged their co-operation in "working toward a constitutional system which would represent all the people of Rhodesia, black and white." In 1968, Chiefs from the Border areas were thanked by Mr. Smith for their co-operation with Security Forces in reporting terrorist movements in their areas.

In 1967, in a statement to the "African Times" in Salisbury, Mr. Anthony Kumalo (a descendant of Mosilikatse, the first king of the Matabele people) said he stood completely with Chief Kumalo in his call to the people to resist terrorists and work for the good of the country. Mr. Kumalo continued: "The ordinary African man in the street wants to live in peace and to support and educate his family, and to develop gradually. He does not want an immediate African Government because he knows this would mean great oppression and bloodshed."

And a footnote in support of the Chiefs' attitude: In August, 1967, Bishop Mashasha of St. Peter's Mission, QueQue Reserve, Rhodesia wrote: "I would like to inform you that the majority of Africans in Rhodesia are willing to stand by, and work with, our Prime Minister. During a meeting over Easter weekend, I have recorded a total of 13,465 Africans who have personally told me that they will not allow Mr. Smith's Government to fall in ruins."

IV. CONSTITUTIONS, VOTING AND THE "TALKS."

The 1961 Constitution, agreed by the British and Rhodesian Governments, and accepted by Rhodesian Nationalists, created the system whereby 50 seats in the Rhodesian Parliament would be chosen by "A" Roll voters, and 15 seats chosen by "B" Roll voters; thus assuring African representation in the legislative body. "A" Roll voters were of greater education or wealth than those on "B" Roll: but both Rolls included African and European voters. Rhodesia agreed to this Constitution in return for the following proclamation by Whitehall in July, 1961:—

That the new (1961) Constitution would continue all the self-governing provisions of the 1923 Constitution: and it would also eliminate "all the reserved powers at present vested in the Government of the United Kingdom save for certain matters set out in Paragraph 50."

Paragraph 50 provided that Rhodesia would be free "to make amendments to any section of the Constitution without reference to the United Kingdom, with the exception of amendments that would affect (a) the position of the Sovereign and the Governor and (b) the right of the United Kingdom Government to safeguard the position regarding international obligations and undertakings given by the Government of Southern Rhodesia in respect of loans under the Colonial Stock Acts."

On these positive assurances and understandings, the people of Southern Rhodesia voted overwhelmingly for the 1961 Constitution. But in November, 1961, when the Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, the Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations announced that Britain had unilaterally added "a few minor points not mentioned in the White Papers." These "minor points" included a section providing that "full power and authority is hereby reserved to Her Majesty by Order in Council to amend, add to, or revoke the provisions of Sections 1, 2, 3, 6, 29, 32, 42 and this Section."

Southern Rhodesia had agreed to the 1961 Constitution in return for the abolishing of the reserved clauses of 1923. But now the reserved clauses had returned in full force. Thanks to a change of policy throughout the Commonwealth, it seemed that Rhodesia was threatened with Whitehall having the power to exercise internal control *for the first time in Rhodesia's history*. Then in 1964, after unilaterally repudiating the 1961 Constitution and dissolving the Central African Federation, Britain granted complete independence to Nyasaland (Malawi) and to Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). Britain denied that there was any commitment that Southern Rhodesia should also have independence: but the impression in Southern Rhodesia had been quite different.

To meet this very real feeling of indignation, Sir Alec Douglas-Home (when Prime Minister of Britain) indicated that if Rhodesia could show that the majority of Rhodesians were in favour of Independence under the 1961 Constitution, some progress might be made. In October 1964, when the Domboshawa Indaba showed, through the unanimously elected Chiefs, that 60% (at least) of Rhodesian Africans were in favour of Independence, the Wilson Government had come into power and the verdict of Domboshawa was set aside.

The U.D.I. Constitution of 1965 preserved intact the franchise rules agreed by Britain in the 1961 Constitution. There were the same two Voters' Rolls, and the same qualifications for each, namely: "A" Roll (electing 50 seats): Income of £330 per annum, plus 4 years secondary education. Or primary education only, if annual income of £528.

"B" Roll (electing 15 seats): Income of £132 per annum, plus 2 years' secondary education. Or no educational requirement, if annual income of £264. On both Rolls, ownership of property of varying values could replace income requirements. Again it was "colour-blind" franchise, with Africans and Europeans on both Rolls.

At the end of 1966 the "A" Roll had a total of about 100,000 names; of which roughly 95,700 were white, 2,400 were Africans and about 3,000 were coloureds or Indians. The "B" Roll numbered roughly 11,700; consisting of 10,780 Africans and 589 whites. There were 13 African M.P.'s and one Asian in the Rhodesian Parliament. In addition, the Opposition included a European M.P. elected by African voters. The Leader of the Opposition was an African.

In 1966, although there were only 2,400 Africans on the "A" Roll, it was estimated that about 60,000 would have been qualified to register on it, through education or property ownership. Many preferred not to disclose their income.

Apathy of Africans towards Western democracy. In 1967, there was a substantial drop in the number of Africans who bothered to re-register on the Rolls. Mr. Mkudu, African Leader of the Opposition, and his fellow-African M.P.'s, were elected with pitifully few votes at the General Election; and Sir Edgar Whitehead, a former Rhodesian Finance Minister and Acting High Commissioner in London, had had to use all sorts of high-pressure tactics to get Africans on to the Rolls — some being included who could not read or write. Left to themselves, Africans simply do not bother to register, or re-register.

Mr. Eric Butler, an international lecturer, learned in 1967 at an African District Council meeting just how little the African is interested in the Western system of voting. These African Councils are a grass-roots attempt to get Africans to do things for themselves in their own areas. Two Mashona Chiefs were present at the meeting which Mr. Butler attended. During the next hour, Mr. Butler formed his own impression of "Oppressed Africans being denied the vote."

Only five of them had bothered to elect one of the members of this purely African Council. Mr. Butler caused some consternation when he asked whether any of those present had voted at the last Rhodesian Elections. The local District Commissioner, who was also present, asked one member point-blank whether he had voted. The man, a schoolteacher with sufficient qualifications, had not voted; his reason being that he had not known that Elections were being held. This, although many notices had been posted up about it.

Mr. Butler later made further investigations, and found that approximately 26,000 African schoolteachers had sufficient qualifications for the "A" or "B" Rolls. They alone could have had a voting strength of about a quarter of the total European vote, if they had troubled to use their vote. Some of the Councillors at this same African Council meeting did not know the names of the African M.P.'s.

It is certain that the Western voting system does not interest the average African — not even a partly educated one. Africans working in towns pack the buses at weekends to return to their tribal areas. They pay their respects to their Chiefs. If they lose their jobs, they can return to the tribal areas and be looked after. The tribal structure, with the Chief at the head, is still the basic organisation directing the Rhodesian African's life.

"Tiger" Talks, 1966. Having refused the verdict of Domboshawa, Mr. Wilson (in December, 1966) decided on the type of government to be forced on Rhodesia. Instead of the existing 50 "A" Roll and 15 "B" Roll seats, there should be 33 "A" Roll seats, 17 "B" Roll seats and 17 European reserved seats. There should be a new Senate, consisting of 12 white members, 8 elected Africans and 6 tribal Chiefs. The franchise was to be immediately extended, through the "B" Roll, to an additional 500,000 African men and women over the age of 30. An intricate system of cross-voting between the Rolls, intended to give African voters still greater potential power, was to be continued. Two Royal Commissions were to be created: one to make a general study of racial discrimination, and the other to test the acceptability of the constitutional proposals to the Rhodesian people as a whole.

The Royal Commissions were to function according to Mr. Wilson's unique viewpoint. First, the constitutional Commission was to make known throughout Rhodesia the British Government's opposition to the views of the Rhodesian

Government — thus turning an impartial Commission into a propaganda vehicle. Next, the Commission's report would be unacceptable unless unanimous; and finally, he "reserved the British Government's position at all stages." In other words, this was Domboshawa over again; for if the Commission's report had been in favour of the Rhodesian Government, the British Government could have rejected it. The other Royal Commission (as directed by Mr. Wilson) would doubtless have interpreted the with-holding of absolute power from politically immature people as racial discrimination.

Wilson's whole attitude on board the "Tiger" was that of a conqueror delivering an ultimatum to a defeated foe. His Government had fully discussed the proposed new Constitution; and he came to Gibraltar with full powers to sign an agreement. He expected Ian Smith to accept the agreement without consultation with the Rhodesian Government; and during their final session, berated him for not doing so.

Wilson's final demand, at 1 a.m. on Dec. 4th, 1966, was that Rhodesia should give a final answer by 10 a.m. on Dec. 5th. During those nine hours, Ian Smith was expected to fly back to Rhodesia, call an emergency meeting of his Cabinet, discuss most fully a Constitution which would affect the whole future of his country, and cable an acceptance (in full, without any amendments) of Wilson's proposals. Moreover, Wilson had thought fit to add a sixth condition to Rhodesia's acceptance. Under Part III of the Working Document which he and Ian Smith had drawn up, were procedures for the so-called "return to legality" of Rhodesia. In spite of having had its own Responsible Government since 1923, Rhodesia was now expected to submit absolutely to British control. Under the terms of Part III, existing Rhodesian legislature was to be dissolved; and legislative powers vested in a Royal Governor who would act "on the advice of Ministers except in those cases where he is empowered to act in his own discretion."

Four months from the date of the dissolution of the legislature, new elections would be held. Meanwhile, Ian Smith would head an interim Government "appointed by the Governor in his discretion." This Royal Governor would be responsible, during the interim period, "for the maintenance of law and order, and the protection of human rights." He would exercise these powers as "Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Forces." Finally, not until "legal government" was restored would the British Government take any action to remove sanctions.

The Rhodesian Cabinet found Part III utterly unacceptable. They would have abandoned their legislature; they would have yielded ultimate control of their own police and armed forces to the Royal Governor; and the duration of the interim period was not fixed at four months precisely. It was subject to certain assumptions that were left to the Royal Governor and the Royal Commission. For the first time in its history, Rhodesia would be subject to active British rule. Moreover, the question of "return to legality" was highly controversial. It was only the notorious Section III, slipped into the 1961 Constitution by a Conservative Government, after the Rhodesian electorate had given their verdict, which gave the British Government any right at all for the actions taken by Order in Council against Rhodesia since the declaration of Independence. RHODESIANS DO NOT OWE ALLEGIANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN. In April, 1967, the British Solicitor-General stated in the House of Commons: "We (the British Government) are not the Government of Rhodesia, and it would be wrong that we should assume the responsibility of the Government of Rhodesia."

As for arraigning Rhodesia before the United Nations, this is so blatantly illegal as to be almost comic. If Rhodesia is a sovereign state, it was illegal to pass judgement on her without allowing her to speak in her own defence. If she is *not* a sovereign state, it was illegal to bring her case before the United Nations at all. Mr. Wilson's final touch (in the House of Commons, July 1966) was that Rhodesia's ultimate Constitution must be approved by "the general community of nations."

No country in history has submitted its Constitution for approval "to the general community of nations." On Dec. 5th, 1966, Rhodesia advised Britain of its rejection of the "Tiger" proposals, although some agreement had been reached on the "Five Principles." The British Government thereupon announced that no future solution would be acceptable other than NIBMAR. (No Independence Before Majority Rule.)

Rhodesian Constitutional Commission. In 1967, when it became clear that further negotiations with Britain would be fruitless, Mr. Smith's Rhodesian Front set up a Constitutional Commission "to examine the 1965 Constitution, and to advise the Government on the framework best suited to the independent status of Rhodesia, calculated to guarantee the rights and freedom of all persons and communities in Rhodesia, and to ensure the harmonious development of Rhodesia's plural society, having regard to the social and cultural differences amongst the people of Rhodesia, to the different systems of land tenure and the problems of economic development."

The members of the Constitutional Commission, all with a lifetime's experience of the country, consisted of one senior Civil Servant, two lawyers, one senior African Chief, and an African businessman who had been a Trade Union leader. This Commission took account of the fact that Rhodesia has NOT got a homogeneous population with a single language, and common habits and customs. It also bore in mind that the new Constitution must be *acceptable to the majority of each race*: and that what suits Britain does not necessarily suit Rhodesia. Black and white Rhodesians have lived together in harmony since 1897, and Rhodesia would have to live with the results of her present decision. Finally, Rhodesia rejected Communism, military dictatorship or any one-party system of government — all of which, in Africa, have sprung from "majority rule."

Republican Constitution, 1969. In June, 1969, an overwhelming majority of the mainly white Rhodesian electorate voted in favour of a new Republican Constitution. They considered that the Constitution should provide not for majority rule, nor for perpetual white domination, but for *eventual parity of representation* between the races. In the "Rhodesia Herald" of March, 1969, Prime Minister Ian Smith said that he was still willing to have talks with Britain before the new Constitution was introduced into the Rhodesian Parliament. Even if it were accepted, Rhodesia would never completely close the door to talks with Britain.

The Preamble to the proposals ran as follows:— "In the knowledge that Her Majesty's advisers in the British Government have denied us the Queen of Rhodesia, we have no option but to submit for your consideration the following proposals for a Republican Constitution of Rhodesia."

The two-stage plan on which Rhodesians voted was:—

(Stage One). Head of State chosen by Executive Council, who would serve for 5 years.

Senate of 23 members, consisting of: 10 Europeans elected by the European Members of Parliament sitting as an electoral college: 10 African Chiefs (5

Matabele and 5 Mashona) nominated by the Council of Chiefs: and 3 persons of any race appointed by the Head of State. The Senate to have power to delay Bills for a maximum period of six months, to amend Bills and to cause them to be resubmitted to Parliament.

House of Assembly: consisting at first of 66 members, of whom 50 will be elected Europeans (including Coloureds and Asians). The African voters on the present "A" and "B" Rolls to be transferred to an African Roll; and the non-Africans on the "A" and "B" Rolls to be transferred to the European Roll.

Of the remaining 16 seats:— 8 tribal seats to be held by Africans elected by electoral colleges composed of Chiefs, Headmen and representatives of African Councils (4 from Mashonaland and 4 from Matabeleland). 8 seats to be filled by persons elected by voters on the African Roll (4 for Mashonaland and 4 for Matabeleland). Urban Africans and African Purchase Area farmers, as envisaged in the Whaley Report, would be qualified for this Roll; as would other Africans possessing income and educational qualifications.

(Stage Two). Within a period of five years from the introduction of the new Constitution, it was envisaged that there should be three Provincial Councils (which in time could grow into Parliaments) for each of the main groups — White, Mashona and Matabele; with an overall National Parliament responsible for finance, defence, law and order, international affairs, and for overall internal affairs such as communications, power, major irrigation works, etc.

Provincial representation in the National Parliament would be based upon the contributions made by each of the three Provinces to the national exchequer, on the basis of calculated personal income-tax. Thus the number of African M.P.'s in the House of Assembly would be increased, until eventually parity was reached.

V — LAND. There is no land-hunger in Rhodesia, and from the days of the first white settlers there has been ample land for both races. 60% of Rhodesia's Africans still live and work in the Tribal Trust Lands (which are for the exclusive use and protection of Africans) and the African Purchase Areas. The Lands are scattered all over the country and occupy about half Rhodesia's land-area. Rhodes set the example of all the people working together for the common good; and this policy has been recognised by both races, and has proved itself over the years.

Separate Development in Rhodesia is neither partition (as between India and Pakistan) nor the complete separation of civil rights in rigid apartheid (as in S. Africa). Rhodesian Separate Development, with fair opportunity for all to rise, and mutual representation in the National Parliament, is a just solution to the problem of two races living and working in the same country.

The Land Apportionment Act, 1930 was put through by Moffat, a former Prime Minister of Rhodesia and descendant of the missionary who was Livingstone's father-in-law. This Act had the full approval of the missionaries of the period, and it became the cornerstone of the Native policy of Rhodesia. Its object was to give the African absolutely fair conditions for buying his own plot of land. The idea of individual land-tenure was entirely new to Africans, whose age-old system had been to farm communal land under their Chiefs. (Incidentally, individual land-tenure was disallowed in the former Northern Rhodesia, under the administration of the Colonial Office).

To buy his own land-plot was essential if the African was to benefit from improved farming-methods: but it was found that Africans — unused to coinage, and bidding for land against Europeans in a free market — were at a great disadvantage. Therefore, the Land Apportionment Act set aside generous areas of land for African use; where Africans could bid solely against each other at land-prices lower than the prevailing market price. So much did this Act work in the Africans' favour that it caused considerable sacrifice on the part of European farmers — who often had to repay mortgages after buying land at the full market price, or who were paying rents and transport-costs from which Africans were exempt.

An example of the fairmindedness of the Act was the impetus given to African maize-growers. Having bought their land more cheaply, paying lower wages to their workers and using their women without pay, they could undersell the European producers of maize. The African small farmer became modestly prosperous, and eligible for registration on the Voters' Roll.

The Land Apportionment Act had visualised the emergence of an independent African peasantry farming land on individual tenure. With Agricultural Demonstrators teaching better farming methods, this policy was beginning to show results. In 1945, a senior Colonial Office investigator wrote back to London that he was impressed by Rhodesia's "excellent technical services." The Land Apportionment Act was seen to be working successfully; and at the request of the British Government, it was included in the 1961 Constitution.

"We Took The Best Land." It was Livingstone, the St. Paul of Central Africa, who in his writings constantly urged the introduction of commerce and Christianity into Africa as a means of bringing civilisation and eliminating the horrors of the slave-trade.

To do this, he strongly advocated the establishment of hard-working white communities living alongside Africans and teaching the ways of civilisation by example. In his travels, he regularly noted the wastefulness of African methods — a laden fruit-tree chopped down to save the trouble of picking the fruit; the rich unused land; the absence of any agricultural equipment save that of a hoe; the lack of interest in seed-planting or fruit cultivation. It was his earnest desire that these things should be remedied: and the tribes themselves were anxious to make contact with European traders on the West coast, and to be able to offer goods (other than slaves and ivory) in return for Western commodities.

Livingstone's influence, and the fact that the British name was known across Central Africa as the only shield against slavery, opened the way for a welcome to missionaries and traders. Was it any wonder that Rhodes, ten years after Livingstone's death, worked hard to bring Bechuanaland (now Botswana) and the lands of the Zambezi — the scenes of Moffat's and Livingstone's great missionary endeavours — under British protection?

Seventy years ago, most of Rhodesia's 150,000 square miles was impoverished scrub ruined by tribal methods of "subsistence" farming. To-day, though owning almost half the land, Africans still produce only 6% of Rhodesia's total food-crops. 200,000 Europeans produce about 95% of the country's taxable income, out of which Africans receive the maximum in subsidies and concessions.

The African Areas contain land as good as any in Rhodesia, as the following percentages show:—

Total area	high-fertility soils:	16.8%	African share:	8.5%
Total area	medium-fertility soils:	16.2%	African share:	10.4%
Low-fertility soils roughly equal.				

Rainfall above 28" is found in 37% of Rhodesia's land-area, half of which is in the African zones. Europeans are mostly in the high temperate plains of Central Rhodesia which are climatically best suited to them: but the allotment of land is fair, and there is ample scope for all.

In the Tribal Trust Lands, arable holdings are usually around 6—10 acres; with additional pasturage for the owner's average of 5—10 cattle. This pasturage gives most peasant-farmers the use of between 60—100 acres, and the land is free.

In the African Purchase Areas the farms are bigger. They average 200 acres in high rainfall areas, and more in dry country; and can be bought on easy terms.

In Rhodesia's 5% of unreserved land, open to buyers of any race, Africans own farms ranging from 1,000—17,000 acres; and several have declared capital of over £40,000.

Tailpiece. In 1912, the Lowveld's vast "Triangle Sugar-lands" were raw scrub. A Scotsman saw the area's possibilities, and built up the enterprise from the purchase of a secondhand sugar-mill in 1919.

African Agriculture. For centuries the African tribesman has aimed at mere subsistence, making wasteful use of the land with no idea of husbandry or the cash-value of crops. And for a long time yet, African agriculture will need European co-operation, capital and know-how. It has always been recognised in Rhodesia that, if both races are to progress to prosperity together, primitive African farming methods must be replaced by better ones. The aim has always been to improve the tribesman's living standards; thereby increasing his spending-power and creating a larger market for his own produce. The challenge is still to change a subsistence-mentality into an outlook which sees the advantages of a cash-economy which increases productivity (both agricultural and industrial) and thereby creates new jobs and raises the living-standards of men and women. Rhodesia needs to create about 40,000 new jobs annually for male African school-leavers; and the best outlook for these is agriculture.

Back in 1927, the Huggins Government inaugurated agricultural work in the Trust Lands with a small team of well-trained African Demonstrators under a European leader. In 1932 came the first irrigation experiment, followed in 1936 by the appointment of a Soil Conservation official. Before 1939, there were two Experimental Farms and 3,000 Demonstration Plots in action; besides the Agricultural and Technical Training Colleges of Domboshawa and Tjolotjo. A visiting agricultural expert from New York reported at this time that S. Rhodesia (as it then was) was far ahead in agricultural work of any other African country, including S. Africa.

To-day, Rhodesia's African farmers can depend on the skill, cash and goodwill of their European neighbours on a scale unequalled in Black Africa. The African farmer can be helped by 1,500 Government officials, or by the senior staff of the Ministry of Agriculture, with advice on the use of fertilizers, improved seed, new techniques and mechanisation. He can apply to the Land Bank for a loan, or to the African Loan Fund. He can take courses at Chibero, or at one of the other agricultural centres.

European farmers are always willing to lend a hand — the *Chiweshe* enterprise being an example of this. Thanks to a private, non-profitmaking company, African farmers in this area are being helped with credit facilities and technical guidance. Other European farmers will loan a tractor, or give free fertilizer or just advice.

Co-operation between European and African is also foremost at *Mlezu*, an Agricultural Training School for Africans which is doing even more important work than the *Chibero College of Agriculture*. At Mlezu, a handful of Europeans are showing 250 Africans how to become good farmers. All the farmbuildings, also the important irrigation dam, have been built by the African students under European supervision. At Chibero, African students are trained to diploma level in agriculture. At *Enkeldoorn*, there is again co-operation between European and African. Europeans played a big part in helping to form the Enkeldoorn Central Co-operative Union Ltd., helping its African members to acquire storage sites and buildings for the purpose of storing produce, fertilizers and insecticides. The Union's finances now allow purchase of transport.

By 1970, Rhodesia's 25,000 African master-farmers and trainees were steadily widening the gap between subsistence and profit farming. Maize yields of 30 bags an acre are not uncommon. Tobacco returns £50—£60 per acre: and irrigated cotton is giving yields of 4,000 lbs. per acre. In 1964, African farmers bought less than 1,000 tons of fertilizer. In 1970, they bought more than 10,000 tons. Rhodesia will soon be almost self-supporting in fertilizers, the cheapness of which may become an important factor in African farming development.

In 1965, there were 90 African Marketing and Agricultural Supply Co-operative Societies in Rhodesia. By 1970 there were 220: also two co-operative unions. The cattle industry is probably the soundest based of any part of Rhodesian agriculture. Africans own about 60% of Rhodesian cattle, and an African was runner-up in the 1965 National Ploughing Championships. Yet 70 years ago Africans knew nothing of stock-breeding, and were ruining the land by over-ploughing and over-grazing.

European know-how has increased the value of land in some African Areas from 2/6d. per acre to £15 per acre: and by 1974 it will be worth much more. Already African agriculture is producing a substantial proportion of Rhodesia's internal requirements of maize and small grains, and ranks sixth in importance in the country's economy. Besides cattle, Africans own half the pig population, nearly all the goats, and are becoming important producers of cotton and tobacco.

Soil-Conservation has resulted in drains and contour-ridges becoming a familiar sight in the Tribal Trust Lands.

Irrigation Schemes. In 1969, "water-harvesters" (underground cement tanks, capable of holding 9,000 gallons) were being built in the Tribal Trust Lands and Native Purchase Areas; and will have a revolutionary effect on tribal life. Women no longer walk several miles a day, to fetch water from the river. Piped water is now available from these tanks, each of which can supply a family of 5 with enough water for themselves and their garden during 8 months of the dry season.

Shashi Irrigation Scheme. Before 1962, hundreds of Rhodesian African families lived at subsistence-level in the Maramani Tribal Trust Land on the Shashi River, bordering Botswana. It was a land of low rainfall and regular failure of crops. It was an area well-known to Livingstone, where homes were rough shelters covered by the leaves of Ilala palms.

Experiments to pump water from the sandy river-bed on to the alluvial soil proved that the poverty-stricken district could be transformed; and in 1962, the Government established the Shashi Irrigation Scheme. By 1968, subsistence-level was a thing of the past. Potential expansion is 1,000 acres — with 5 pumps going, summer and winter. Principal summer crops are maize and cotton, with wheat in winter. There is a citrus-orchard of 4,000 trees, with 10,000 seedlings planted. A stock-fattening exercise will use crop-residues previously wasted.

In 1968, there were 161 plot-holders, guided in farming methods, with a one-acre residential site plus a 2-acre plot. Owners may have larger plots if they can farm them themselves; but they may not employ labourers, who must be encouraged to own plots themselves. With their new prosperity, Shashi farmers in 1968 formed their own co-operative society which handles distribution of tools, the marketing of crops, and loans to African farmers under the Agricultural Loan Fund.

Effect of Sanctions on African Agriculture. Over three-quarters of the African population in Rhodesia depends, directly or indirectly, on agriculture for its livelihood. Over 100,000 male Africans are employed in tobacco, plus three or four times that number of women and children. Yet tobacco, beef and sugar have received particular attention from sanctions.

Tailpiece (1971): While Rhodesia had a bumper maize crop, Zambia bought maize from her to fend off starvation.

Urban Areas. The remaining 40% of Rhodesian Africans find work in factories, farms and homes on European-owned land. As far back as 1944, it was recognised that it was unsatisfactory for African breadwinners to travel backwards and forwards between their place of work and their homes in the Native Reserves. African workers might be separated from their families for months at a time — an unsettling state of affairs for the family concerned, and also a waste of Tribal farming land which might otherwise have been cultivated by an African farmer.

It was foreseen that a permanently urban group of Africans would develop, and Prime Minister Huggins (the surgeon, Sir Godfrey Huggins) felt strongly that African workmen should have their wives and children living with them. There must be better living conditions, and a man would feel more settled in a permanent home. It was further foreseen that a wealthier African class would eventually want its own "Belgravia" — for already a noticeable African middle-class was emerging from the ranks of the "subsistence-farming" peasantry.

The Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation & Registration Act became law in 1946. It paved the way for the setting-up of African townships alongside European townships, with vastly improved living standards for African workmen. Huggins' own pre-occupation with health matters must to-day be gratified by the fact that in the African township of Harari, alongside Salisbury, the African Hospital is one of the leading hospitals in Africa.

Since Africans from Zambia, Malawi and other African countries work in Rhodesia in large numbers, some sort of permit-registration had to be incorporated in the Urban Areas Act. Huggins himself disliked the permit-system; but some of the permit-legislation was inevitable following inter-territorial labour agreements with countries further North. The Rhodesian permit-system was not as rigidly enforced as in S. Africa: and critics of it should bear in mind the practical difficulty of dealing with large numbers of migratory workers.

Training in Local Government. The success of Rhodesia's policy of Separate Development depends not only on the economic improvement of the Tribal Trust Lands, but also on the improvement in African education and in African ability to handle affairs at all levels — eventually reaching the goal of autonomous communities in co-operative association with each other.

To this end, in 1967, a Tribal Trust Land Bill enlarged the authority of the Chiefs in this respect; and a member of the African Opposition Party in the Rhodesian Parliament said that "the plan would provide new opportunities for tribesmen to gain experience in government."

Position of Women. Because of the importance of the place occupied by women in African society, the success or failure of an approach to them cannot be overestimated; and in 1969 (since the vast majority of African women still live on the land) the Training College at Domboshawa created the post of Leadership Trainer (Women) to cater for more advanced courses for women in Community Development. In the urban areas, too, great strides have been made through Women's Institutes to encourage African women in all kinds of activities; and they have made an excellent response.

Land Tenure Act, 1970. This Act was introduced simultaneously with the new Constitution, 1970. Just as the Constitution envisaged three Provincial Councils (European, Mashona and Matabele) so the Land Tenure Act divides Rhodesia into roughly two halves, with Mashonaland and Matabeleland recognised as separate entities, thus:—

European Area	c. 35 million acres.
Mashona and Matabele Area	c. 45 million acres.
National Area	c. 6 million acres.

Rhodesian critics will immediately cry out, "This is not fair! The African Area holds 4 million people, while nearly half the land is occupied by only 200,000 Europeans."

First, this is not accurate; since about 1½ million Africans share the urban areas with Europeans. Secondly, there is ample land for everyone. Thirdly, it must never be forgotten that the average African has no idea how to make the best use of land. Until he is shown — as he is being shown — how to do better, the subsistence-farming African peasant will ruin the land by over-ploughing, overgrazing, cutting down valuable timber and displaying a complete lack of knowledge of how to counter the washing-away of soil under heavy rainfall by methods of soil-conservation. At the risk of monotony one must refer again to Livingstone, that great lover of Africans, who commented over and over again on the hopeless wastefulness of African agricultural methods.

The main principle of the Land Tenure Act is that a member of one race may not own land in the area of the other: but there are exceptions. Ownership, for instance, is allowed for either race in any township situated in the other's area. Also, members of either race may own land in the *Non-Racial Residential Areas*. Exceptions also apply to *Specially Designated Land*. Finally, "*Voluntary Associations*" (i.e. religious orders, Trade Unions or Trustees) may apply for ownership of land in either area.

Permits. It is recognised that members of both races may have to live and work in the same area, and no permit is required for anyone going about his daily business. The general rule is that occupation — in the sense of residence — in the

opposite area does require a permit. ("Occupation" is defined as being habitually present in a place: as for instance attending school as pupil or teacher; attending a medical institution as patient, doctor or employee; or staying in a hotel, motel, boarding-house or club).

But there are some major exceptions to the necessity for permits, and it is expected that these will outnumber the cases where permits are required.

Individual members of the public are NOT required to have permits. Permits for "occupation" are the responsibility of the owner, or person-in-charge of the establishment; who must acquire a permit to cover the residence of employees of the opposite race.

Further exceptions to necessity for permits. An area can be declared a no-permit-required Area by the Ministry of Local Government and Housing. Schools and medical institutions may exist in the opposite Area by permission of the local authority; and once this permission is given, no further permit is needed.

Tribal Trust Lands, under Land Tenure Act. These are dealt with separately, under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This Minister is responsible for the administration and development of the Trust Lands in the interest of their tribesmen-citizens. None but tribesmen may occupy the Trust Lands, save for a limited number of people connected with forestry and mineral rights: or for purposes of religion, education or health.

When it is the general wish of the tribesmen, freehold title may be granted: also, Tribal Trust Land can be specially set aside for irrigation works, townships, business centres or for Wild Life Conservation. *Where this leads to a tribesman losing his right to occupy land*, he may be allocated other land if available, or paid compensation.

The Tribal Land Authority consists of the Chief of the area and his traditional advisers, and is established for every Tribal Area. It is the duty of this body to control the use and occupation of its Area: and for this purpose it may enact bye-laws.

If this Authority neglects its duties, or performs them improperly, the Minister can disband it and appoint his own nominees. But he could not affect the position of the Chief, who is elected according to the wishes of the majority of the tribesmen.

Mission Land. Although this category no longer exists under the Land Tenure Act, the Rhodesian Government recognises that Missions have brought Christianity to Rhodesia; and it is not the intention to hinder activities on existing Mission land. The traditional Government policy of helping Missions in education and health will continue.

But the expansion of existing Mission establishments must conform to the overall plan for the development of the area in which the Mission is situated. Missions for Africans not working in a European area will be encouraged to develop in the African areas, rather than on Mission-owned land in a European area: thus conforming to Government policy for developing African areas.

In a statement in March 1970, the Minister of Lands acknowledged that Churchmen had expressed concern over the fact that Mission Land is now included in either the European area or the African area. In place of the Land Apportionment Act, which gave occupation rights to Africans on Mission Land in a European

area, the Land Tenure Act calls for registration of these rights and gives the responsible Minister the right to terminate them. The reason for this is to clear up islands of African occupation within European areas, which are quite unrelated to the work of the Mission. In some cases, tenants' occupation of Mission land has become an embarrassment to the Missions themselves — because the land can no longer sustain the tenants and their families.

In European areas, it is Government policy under the new Act to terminate as soon as possible the rights of occupation by African tenants; subject to their being suitably placed in African areas, or in African townships within a European area. There is compensation for removal: and it is hoped that there will be co-operation from all parties.

In African areas, it is the policy of the new Act to encourage the disposal of agricultural Mission land to individual Africans; and there have been discussions with the Missions as to how best this could be done.

Owners of Mission land in a European area whose African tenants have a right to occupy Mission land must supply the Minister of Lands with the names and particulars of these tenants, so that their rights can be registered. Once a right to land has been registered, the Mission may continue to issue leases as long as the right exists. However, rights of tenants on Mission land are personal to the Head of Family, and lapse on his death. Similarly, rights of a single woman lapse on her marriage. Should dependants have to leave, following the right-holder's death, immovable assets are compensated and expenses of removal paid.

Some Mission land is included in the *Specially Designated Areas*. No action need be taken by Africans occupying this land.

“Voluntary Associations.” Further to assist the Churches, which have stated that the Land Tenure Act poses special problems for them, the Act provides that they may register as “Voluntary Associations” which may own land in European or African Areas. A Church should have itself registered as a “Voluntary Association,” unless it chooses to declare its controlling interest and thus to be classified as “European” or “African” in order to comply with the Act. Ownership of land by a “voluntary association” does not absolve that Association from obtaining a permit to occupy the land, where a permit is required by the Act.

Specially Designated Areas. Under the Land Apportionment Act, some privately-owned land lay in European, or Unreserved Areas. This type of land is now transferred either to a European or African area. The land may continue to be held by the owner for his lifetime: but afterwards may only become the possession of one of the “area race.” The object of this legislation is to eliminate “pockets” of land in the wrong area.

Owners of Specially Designated Land were given warning by the Ministry of Lands that this provision would be in the Act, and appeals against it could be lodged within 60 days of the Act coming into operation. Conversely, owners could appeal to have their land Specially Designated if they so wished.

Compensation. In future, anyone (other than a right-holder on Mission Land) owning or leasing land in a *Non-Racial Residential Area, African Township, European Township, or Designated Non-Racial Commercial or Industrial Area*, who is no longer permitted to do so, through alteration of boundaries, is entitled to compensation by the Government at an agreed rate or at a rate fixed by arbitration. Owners, however, may continue to own such land for five years from the date on which the boundaries were altered.

VI — AFRICAN EDUCATION. The two main criticisms levelled against Rhodesia with regard to African education are (a) that she has been slow in providing any education at all for her African Rhodesians, and (b) that she still offers them far too little Secondary education.

(a) Up to World War II, most African Rhodesians were still largely uninterested in education. Every mental activity connected with school was quite outside their experience. Generations had dragged a living out of the bush without knowing the meaning of the words "reckoning" or "alphabet." Trade was still largely a matter of exchanging cattle for cooking-pots, or similar commodities; or, in the village store, exchanging one's wages for a bicycle or a new sleeping-blanket.

One's tribal language and songs had always been handed down from mouth to mouth. Africans connected with a Mission had seen Europeans reciting from something they called a "book"; and some village children — in a large hut called a "school" — had been set to copying European signs into smaller books and making noises to fit them. The average tribesman saw no connection between this form of harmless white magic and his own existence. It was not until a generation had passed, and some of the children had obtained jobs as clerks with sufficient wages to support themselves and many of their relatives, that the idea of education began to catch on.

(b) Rhodesia aims at providing a basic Primary education for all. Other developing countries have taken a different line. They have given more extensive Secondary education to those qualified for it, without attempting to give Primary education to more than a limited number of their people.

Education, like everything else, has to be paid for. Missions played a great part in the establishment of a Primary system; but it was the white Rhodesian's enterprise and energy which made possible the Government's increased financial backing for extended education. To maintain an African educational system at European level would cost £140 million per year, which Rhodesia simply could not afford. British taxpayers' money has not been poured into Rhodesia as it has into other developing African countries. At present African education is the largest single item in Rhodesia's Budget, standing at about 9%. This represents about £100 annually in tax for every white family.

The white Rhodesian cannot indefinitely be the main source of financial supply for educational and welfare benefits: and it has always been Rhodesian policy to raise the black Rhodesian's standard of living so that he may take a greater part in his own educational and commercial improvement. The objective of universal Primary education is costly in itself; and increased Secondary education will cost still more, and will need the co-operation of parents and African Local Councils.

Despite Rhodesia's policy of putting the emphasis on universal Primary education, critics in other countries should note that Rhodesia has provided Secondary education for nearly 25% of those leaving Primary schools: and that throughout Africa she comes second only to South Africa in the field of African education.

The accusation that Rhodesia has checked the spread of Secondary education lest it should increase qualifications for franchise is answered by the fact that since 1962, 45 new Secondary Schools have been established. Since 1963, the number of Africans in Secondary Schools has almost doubled; and the number in Sixth Forms has more than trebled. Finally, in 1966 came the Ten-Year Plan.

The Ten-year Plan. In 1966, the Minister for Education of the present Rhodesian Government announced a ten-year plan for African education. The aim was (i) full Primary education for all, beginning in 1969. (Unesco had found that 91% black children in Rhodesia between 5 and 14 years already received Primary education. Nigeria 40% Tanzania 29%).

At the same time (ii) great advances were planned for the extension of Secondary education. 300 new Junior Secondary Schools were expected to be opened during the ten-year period. By 1974, it was estimated that these would accommodate 37.5% of pupils completing the Primary course. A further 12½% of more gifted pupils will proceed to a full 4-year Secondary course. (Incidentally, the present Government's record in African education can bear scrutiny from the very beginning. In 1963, only 19% Primary children completed the full course. In 1970, over 80% had facilities for the full Primary course. Secondary Schools increased from 41 to 121: and enrolment by 230%).

Finally (iii) there was to be modernising of Teacher Training institutions.

Financially, the Government would continue to give generous backing; but must be assisted in this vast effort by the encouragement of a self-help attitude and the activities of local voluntary agencies.

Background to the Plan. The pre-1966 type of African education was based on the traditional British colonial education for backward peoples, with literacy as the main object. This meant that the vast majority left school without any very clear idea of how the ability to read simple English would help in life's future activities. About 45% got no further than the 5-year Lower Primary course. Of those finishing the full 8-year course, slightly less than 25% found places in Secondary schools.

It was a constant complaint of African parents that such a large number of children left school too young for employment, and without the completion of any recognised course. It was felt that the parents' criticism that the system "lacked purpose" was justified: and that the minimum objective of an educational system should be the completion of a Primary course.

To meet the criticism that children often left school too young for employment, or otherwise unfitted for it, it has been planned that the last two years of a child's junior education shall be spent in Junior Secondary Schools offering some kind of vocational training in preparation for the probable type of job available. This will take into account the area in which the school is situated. In urban areas the demand will mainly be from trade and industry; so there will be a Youth Employment organisation whereby employers will indicate what jobs would be available and what type of training would be useful. Schools will respond to this with aptitude-tests and suitable activities.

In rural areas, the vocational training will mainly be towards agriculture. Relationships will be established between parents and farmers, and between the school and the Agricultural Extension Services (which give free advice to tribesmen).

New Scheme for Universal Primary Education. In future, African communities and Local Councils will be encouraged to play an increasing part in assuming responsibility in all areas for the provision of Primary Schools. The old name of "Standard" would be changed: and the Primary Course would extend from Grades 1—7. Grades 1 and 2 would eventually be taught by women trained for 2 years in infant methods; these women teachers to have passed Grade 9. They will be classed as T4 teachers.

Grades 3—7 will eventually be taught by T3 teachers — i.e. those who have had 3 years' post-Junior Certificate training. There will be increased use of modern teaching methods. Audio-Visual Services were already producing three broadcast lessons daily, with charts and booklets for about 2,000 African Primary schools. The teaching of English is the main subject; but other programmes include geography, world history, African and European legends and fairy tales, stories from Shakespeare, and homecraft.

The new scheme goes to the limit in providing Primary education for every black child in Rhodesia.

Revised Secondary Education. By 1966, over 6,000 students per year were admitted to Form I in the then Secondary Schools; and it was estimated that by 1970 there would be an intake of 23,000 per year. In the new ten-year plan, the former type of Secondary Schools are split into Junior Secondary Schools and Senior Secondary Schools. The new Junior Secondary Schools will accommodate many who in the past would have finished their education at Primary level. Those with Division I passes, and the best of the Division II passes, will go to the Senior Secondary Schools. Most of these latter should continue on to Form IV and the Cambridge Certificate.

Correspondence Courses were already operating before the ten-year plan, with 12,000 students doing Secondary Correspondence in 1966.

This ten-year plan for Primary and Secondary African education should shortly bring Rhodesia to the goal of universal education, far outpacing every country in Africa.

The 300 new *Junior Secondary Schools* will include Grades 8 and 9, which will be staffed by T2 teachers who have had 2 years' post-Cambridge School Certificate training. These teachers will be trained in the recognition and development of aptitudes. In addition, there will be specialist teachers for handwork and other manual activities. These will prepare students for basic training in industry, agriculture and domestic science.

For the great majority, the end of the 2-year Junior Secondary course would be the starting-point for beginning to earn: and the school, parents and pupils would have this in mind throughout the child's Junior Secondary Schooling.

Two new *Senior Secondary Schools* a year will be needed from 1970 onwards, at a capital cost of £260,000 annually. In the Senior Secondary Schools, Forms I and II, and perhaps Form III, will be taught by teachers from the Gwelo Teachers' College: which provides a 3-year course, post-1st class Cambridge School Certificate. They will be Ti. teachers. Another source of supply will be teachers from the Buluwayo Teachers' College.

The higher forms in the Senior Secondary Schools will be taught by graduates and honours graduates, mostly from the University College of Rhodesia.

University Education. The ten-year plan envisages Government support of Africans at University on a basis of equality with Europeans. Previously, all African students were eligible for assistance, regardless of the standard of education. The University itself may be able to raise funds to assist in providing University places. Overseas scholarships tend to increase in numbers. In 1966 there were about 200 Africans at the University College of Rhodesia; and their numbers have increased rapidly over the years.

Supplementary Education. Another way Rhodesia helps with African education is by the Government-sponsored African Literature Bureau. An impressive statistic is that whereas 45,000 books were published for Africans in 1966, this had risen to over 125,000 by 1971.

Teacher Training. The Ten-year Plan calls for a major overhaul in Teacher Training. In 1966, there were 2 Government African Teacher Training Colleges and 31 Mission institutions preparing teachers for African schools. But too many small teacher-training units prevent proper use being made of specialist trainers, and the overall result is a weakness in training methods.

It was therefore proposed in the Plan to rationalise training facilities, and to combine the existing Colleges into six establishments — 2 Government and 4 non-Government. The Plan involves a large amount of non-Government capital expenditure: but the existing staff and salary grants would be diverted to the combined institutions. The suggested Training centres are:—

Gwelo Teachers' College.
Umtali Teacher Training College.
Four United Colleges.

In addition to its present agricultural training, Mlezu Agricultural School would undertake the Agricultural and Industrial Teacher Training.

Gwelo Teachers Training College is one of the finest in all Africa, and cost £100,000 to build. In 1967, a further £30,000 was spent on general improvements; bringing the total capital expenditure to about £600,000. By 1968 it would be able to cater for 384 students (including 48 women students). It is the first College in Rhodesia where students are granted a standard Teacher's certificate by the Institute of Education at the University College of Rhodesia. This certificate is internationally recognised, and all students are guaranteed a posting to a Secondary School. The successful student can expect to graduate at a salary of £900 for men and £770 for women. Students have full board and tuition fees from the Government for 3 years, provided that when qualified they work for 3 years at a Government school.

In 1967 there were 240 students in residence; of whom 56 were expected to qualify that year, compared with 12 in 1964. In 1968, 89 were expected to qualify. In 1967, Gwelo was concentrating chiefly on mathematics and science trainees.

Re-organisation of Teacher Training is an immense undertaking, made even more difficult by the great changes in teaching methods now being adopted in education. This refers particularly to new approaches in the teaching of mathematics, science and English. It is essential that African education should avoid outdated methods and keep pace with modern techniques. For this purpose, a National Advisory Council has been set up to advise the Secretary for African Education on the re-organisation of Teacher Training.

Salaries. The African teacher's salary is almost twice the average of that of his fellow-workers. In this he compares favourably with the European teacher, who receives rather less than the average.

Financing the Ten-year Plan. Before 1966, African Education was financed by annual awards of varying amounts. From 1966 onwards, it has been planned that Education expenditure shall be geared to the country's economy on a basis of 2% of the gross national product — i.e. about 9% of the National Budget. Thus, expansion of the national economy will also benefit African education.

Additionally, the Ten-year Plan will be assisted by contributions from local communities, Missions and other voluntary agencies. The development of the Plan depends a great deal on the enthusiasm and participation of African Councils, parents, Local Government bodies and other voluntary workers.

In rural areas, Missions formerly made a great contribution towards forming the Primary System; for which parents erected buildings and teachers' houses, and bought the required books. Missions also established a large part of the Secondary System.

In urban areas, the Government was responsible for both types of education; besides paying teachers' salary grants and providing the Inspectorate.

In the new Plan, African communities through their Local Government Councils are encouraged to assume responsibility in all areas for the provision of Primary Schools: and in due time to establish Junior Secondary Schools, including boarding accommodation. Local Government Councils must be fully responsible for their Primary Schools before starting Junior Secondary Schools; and they must be able to meet costs (excepting teachers' salaries).

Towards the costs of each Junior Secondary School, the Government will make a grant of at least £5,000. This will involve total expenditure of about £260,000 per year. From 1970 onwards, the Government is responsible for the capital cost of the full Senior Secondary School development. These schools will be sited according to Provincial and District needs.

The main financial problem is to meet the increasing costs of Primary education without curtailing the plans for extended Secondary education. Hence the sharing of costs for the Primary and Junior Secondary Schools with the local communities concerned.

In 1968 school fees were raised to help finance the new Plan. In Sponsored Schools, a token costing R\$1.25 is required from each scholar as a Government levy for one year's education. This is in order to balance the 5% cut in Government grants to Primary Schools. This cut was essential in order to maintain the rate of expansion in Secondary Schools.

Remission of Fees. In 1,000 schools no payment will be made: the 5% cut being made good in other ways. If the parents of a talented child cannot pay the fee, they can apply for remission. Rural parents are only just (1970) being asked to pay fees, which hitherto have been paid for them by Europeans and urban Africans.

Mission Schools. From 1971, some Mission schools are being handed over to African Councils or other responsible bodies; although there is no need for a Church to hand over to a Council unless it wants to. There is no question of a hand-over being immediate.

Sponsored Schools. Mission Schools not taken over by African Councils or other responsible authorities will, for the time being, be called Sponsored Schools. These will be organised by the Government, working through School Managers and School Boards. Parents are entitled to a say in the future of their school; and the Churches will still have the right of entry into African Council Schools, or Sponsored Schools, just as they have into other Government schools.

Sanctions and the Ten-year Plan. The fulfilment of the Ten-year Plan depends greatly on the efforts of the local people co-operating with the Government and

with Missionary bodies. The initiative and support of Local Government authorities is essential — assisted, of course, by Government grants and depending on the output of trained teachers.

Since the Government's already large Educational Budget is to be geared to the country's economy, and since Sanctions deliberately hamper that economy, it follows that it is United Nations' policy which threatens to curtail Rhodesia's ambitious Plan for African education. We are helping to prevent the expansion of the Plan at the expense of Rhodesian Africans. And incidentally, at a cost of millions of pounds to ourselves.

VII — WORK AND WAGES. (a) **Work.**) Rhodesia since Independence presents an inspiring picture of a young, vigorous country putting forth every ounce of effort, and positively turning its difficulties into advantages. In 1968 industrial production was a record — and employment of both races, mineral production, consumption of electricity and approved building plans have all increased since U.D.I.

By 1968, 558 new industrial projects had been approved to overcome the lack of imports. Rhodesia has designed and built plant to replace European plant. For instance, a Rhodesian-built adjustable mechanical planter, with interchangeable gearing, takes care of combined seed-planting and fertilising operations. In Salisbury, £70,000 laboratories produce pharmaceutical preparations formerly imported. Colgate-Palmolive have a new £100,000 plant producing detergent washing-powders, etc. Before Independence, many machinery spares were imported from Britain; but most are now produced in Rhodesia at the same price and in many cases, of better quality. In 1968, the £17 million nitrogenous fertiliser factory to be built near Que Que marked the largest capital project in Rhodesia since Lake Kariba, and showed the confidence of outside investors in the country. The £500,000 dam project in Matabeleland, and the £20,000 bridge-building operation over the Umfuli River, were two highlights of 1967. This bridge has been entirely re-designed by Rhodesian engineers to overcome the difficulty of getting European equipment.

For the marketing of one of the country's newest commercial crops, paddy rice, a rice mill has been established in the Lowveld. A Buluwayo firm has produced a magnesium compound car wheel — a big breakthrough in the handling of magnesium. And so the list could go on.

The expansion of the spinning and weaving industry, using new plant and machinery which is among the best in the world, will from 1968 onwards create 1,000 new jobs mainly for Africans. Imports of cotton and rayon printed fabrics have been slashed to save foreign exchange; and the Rhodesian cotton industry is already self-sufficient. With their 3 mills, of 56,000 spindles, Rhodesian Spinners Ltd. expected by the end of 1968 to increase their output of shirting and canvas to include 5 million yards yearly of cotton dress-fabrics, and thereby to increase their work-force.

Another firm, Cotton Printers (Rhodesia) Ltd., buy Rhodesian raw cotton and carry it through the entire process — spinning, weaving, dyeing, printing, finishing and making-up. Their quality satisfies overseas as well as home markets. In 1968, cotton picked in the Lowveld was equal to the crop of the whole country in 1965. In 1971, 200,000 African cotton-pickers were needed to harvest the year's crop.

The textile industry, in 1967, increased production by 12% over 1965 — a bigger increase than any other industrial sector. The mining industry, in 1968, was on the threshold of dynamic developments — mainly in copper and nickel, but including the discovery of a huge platinum deposit in the Great Dyke. Rhodesia also has coal, iron and limestone resources; and large chrome-ore reserves enough to allow for a substantial expansion of the ferro-alloy industries. These, with iron and steel, are making a valuable contribution to exports. The mineral production figure of £32,600,000 in 1966 had already been exceeded in 1967.

The citrus industry, the specialised industry of fruit-growing, has a very good future in Rhodesia; whose varying altitudes can cope with the full range of sub-tropical fruits. These include mango, pawpaw, litchi, nuts, bananas, avocado, grenadilla, grapefruit, lemons, oranges, pears, plums and quinces. The coffee industry has a considerable potential: and tobacco, though its African workers have been badly hit by sanctions, has researched two new varieties of flue-cured tobacco which have outyielded traditional varieties and produced leaf selling at higher prices.

The upsurge of building activity all over the country has encouraged timber-growing on a commercial scale in the great forest areas of the Eastern Highlands. In 1968, a Board and Timber Products factory at Umtali began producing high quality particle board from local grown timber. Grading of locally produced constructional timber is going ahead, so that customers from the building and timber industries can buy graded timber at varying prices. The Government has been able to cut imports of constructional timber. Rhodesia is also well on the way towards meeting her own requirements for sawn timber.

Irrigation canals are developing the enormous food-producing potential of the Lowveld; with its vast areas growing sugar, wheat, sorghums and vegetables, besides cotton and citrus. Some crops are harvested twice a year. (All this is a fascinating vindication of Livingstone's estimate more than a century ago). The cattle industry is increasing fast, as evidenced by the 1967 decision to build a new £55,000 administrative headquarters in Buluwayo for the Cold Storage Commission.

1968 saw a soaring demand for electrical power, making profitable the manufacture of a variety of import substitutes.

In addition to industrial, agricultural, mining, Civil Service and railway jobs, Rhodesia offers African workers a variety of employment ranging from carpet-weaving and crocodile-farming to secretarial work and a training scheme for statisticians.

(b) Wages. Back in the 1930's, special Boards in Southern Rhodesia (as it was then) fixed equal wage-rates for skilled Europeans and Africans in urban areas. Urban employers had to give exactly the same wage-packets to skilled men of whatever colour. These equal wage-rates did not apply in rural areas, the Native Purchase Areas or the Reserves. This may sound unfair: but where there were fewer amenities the cost of living was much lower, and in actual fact the equality of wage-earning in urban areas sometimes worked to Africans' disadvantage — since European employers often felt no special advantage in employing African labour instead of European unless it was cheaper. Exactly the same argument against equal pay for women prevails to-day in the West.

Between the wars, Rhodesian Africans began to benefit from the Government's efforts to improve their standard of agriculture. They received better prices for their produce, and the number of African-owned cattle and African-tilled acreage

rapidly increased. From the 1930's onwards, thanks to this agricultural improvement and to largely Mission-sponsored education, an African middle-class has steadily emerged in Rhodesia; consisting of painters, bricklayers, carpenters, postmasters, dispensary workers, clerks, Agricultural Demonstrators, schoolmasters, Law Court interpreters, policemen, taxi-drivers and meteorological observers.

Since 1960, there have been uniform pay and pension regulations in Rhodesia for Civil Servants of whatever race. Government and Railway employees, and so on, are paid not according to colour but according to the grade and type of job. In 1967, about 1,700 of Rhodesia's 10,000 permanent Civil Servants were Africans. Their salaries ranged from £240 to £2,650 per year. In addition, about 4,000 Africans in posts outside the Service proper can progress on merit and ability to permanent posts. To help them to do so, a Training Section runs regular courses on subjects such as the handling of Government money, procedure and public administration.

There is, however, this distinction about Civil Service pay: whereas Europeans must pay all expenses out of their wages, African workers are subsidised in house rentals, water, rates, taxes, transport, hospitalisation and education. Hence the difference between the actual take-home earnings of the two races; but the real standard of wages is what is left after expenses are paid, and it is noticeable that some Africans seem to have more to spare for "extras" than Europeans.

Average African earnings in industry rose between 1955 and 1965 by 166%. In 1969, the Rhodesian African's average wage was £125 per year. Appallingly low, you say. Wait for it: in Kenya the average was £32 per year, in Tanzania £18, and in Malawi £17. This is the *average* wage. Many Africans in Rhodesia are earning £1,000 a year and upwards.

African Nationalists demand a basic wage of £25 a month. But the African economy in Rhodesia cannot expand beyond the power of the white Rhodesian taxpayer to carry it. That is why it has always been Rhodesian policy to encourage Africans to increase their own prosperity and thereby make a bigger contribution to their country's economy. In this way, they can lend a hand to help the 65,000 young Africans and upwards, who leave school yearly and need jobs.

On March 31st, 1966, there were 655,000 Africans in employment in Rhodesia — the highest number in the country's history. It is not surprising that about 250,000 foreign Africans, mainly from Zambia and Malawi, work in Rhodesia. In 1969, average African wages were rising 3 times as fast as those of Europeans, and their cost-of-living index rose by only 1.4%. Even so, sanctions have badly hit African wage-earners. Up to 1965, average African earnings rose twice as steeply as cost-of-living: but since 1966 the increase in their average earnings only just keeps pace with the rise in living costs. The African agricultural worker is the main sufferer.

Higher-educated Rhodesian Africans have excellent prospects for good jobs and good pay. In 1968, the Ministry of Internal Affairs announced a training scheme for men acting as secretaries to African Local Councils. Local Council activity and expansion is proceeding at such a rate throughout Rhodesia that it is out-stripping the supply of trained secretaries. About 120 of these will be required up to 1970; and these responsible jobs will command good salaries.

Cotton is a booming industry in Rhodesia. In 1953, the minimum African weekly wage was 14/6d. plus rations: but in 1968, many African senior staff were earning more than £45 per month. In this industry (as in others) home-production of hitherto imported goods will increase African employment. More workers are already needed for spinning, weaving, printing and dyeing; and the cut in imports is an incentive for cotton-growers of both races to produce bigger crops. Cotton-picking, during the season, is a family affair. In the "African Times" for January, 1971, it was announced that the current price for cotton-pickers would be 10 cents for each 15 lbs. of cotton picked. (Since 1970, Rhodesia has adopted dollar-and-cent currency. A Rhodesian dollar is roughly worth 10/-, or 50 British new pence). A man quick at the job can pick about 90 lbs. of cotton a day, a woman about 60 lbs., and children about 40 lbs. A family of 4 (2 adults and 2 children) could thus earn about R\$40 a month. Not a vast sum: but it would buy many things, or help to pay school fees.

African farmers in the Tribal Trust Lands are learning to make considerable profits in the fattening of cattle for slaughter, by following the feeding-scheme recommended by agricultural instructors. One African in 1967 refused £7:8:0d. for a very thin ox; then fattened it on mainly home-produced maize, stover and masese, and sold it 3 months later for £35:13:5d. Its food had cost him about 55/-. Another African farmer sold 2 oxen in 1966 for £120:15:0d. Many received more than £50 each for their fattened beasts.

Many Africans are self-employed, both in cities and rural areas. These are the butchers, bakers, bus-owners, owners of petrol-stations and stores, builders and businessmen. Many earn several thousand pounds a year, and live in expensive, European-type houses.

To sum up: In 1971, the Rhodesian economy had the same buoyant report to make — namely, increase in production of all kinds including goods hitherto imported only, and indications that visitors from other countries are getting increasingly interested in Rhodesian products.

At a time when half the world is starving, Rhodesia — despite vicious sanctions — can still feed ALL her people; and has exported food to Zambia. Moreover, she has actually increased her Budget expenditure on African education, agriculture and the Health Services.

What will she not do, for her own and her Africans' prosperity, when the brake of Sanctions is released ?

VIII — HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT. Since the war, there have been two aims in Rhodesia's housing policy for Africans — one for more intensive development of the Tribal Trust Lands, with better housing and health services; and the other to encourage African workers to settle permanently with their families in an urban area. Once settled, permanent residents are encouraged to take part in Local Government; thus helping to run their own affairs and to solve township and rural problems. Community workers in townships in the Salisbury area have been active in helping residents to take an interest in preventive health, clinics, welfare and recreation activities.

By the end of 1968, about 300 African Councillors representing 73 Councils throughout Rhodesia had received training in local government. The first group of 30 completed an intensive course in finance, development problems, procedure of meetings, planning and the nature of ratepayers' complaints. Councillors also discussed with headmasters and health assistants the problems facing their people — an essential part of their training in view of the significant contribution which African Councils are making in education, health and other facilities.

In 1967/68, the Ministry of Local Government and Housing had a record turnover of more than £19 million, as against £16 million in the previous year. Capital expenditure covered projects such as housing, water-supplies, sewerage, roads, schools and hospitals.

Since U.D.I., Housing progress has accelerated. The policy of the present Rhodesian Government is to ensure, as far as possible, that every African urban worker is decently housed: and to achieve a standard in housing which, while not placing an undue burden on the employee's wage, does make certain that the general health and well-being of the community is maintained. A reasonable contribution is deducted from a man's earnings towards running water, electricity, sewerage, roads, etc. This is because costs have shot up beyond the capacity of even the bigger cities to finance the expansion of their African townships. Speaking in 1968 at the opening of one of the most modern "pubs" in Rhodesia in the African township of Tafara, near Salisbury — where the Greendale Town Management Board had just provided 1,500 new African bungalows — the Minister of Housing said that he believed that the Government's housing policy was generally acceptable to African urban workers.

In the Tribal Trust Lands, where the bulk of the African population lives, the economy is not yet capable of providing housing up to Western standards. Sanctions hinder this objective: but in urban areas, housing development has gone on rapidly; and nearly 95,000 people now live in the African townships of Salisbury, to mention only one city. Accommodation for these African workers, thanks to the Government's rent-subsidy of 40% to 60% of the economic price, is available at a very low rent. These rented homes are mainly small, cement-block, detached bungalows each with its own small plot of ground and mealie-patch. They are neither spacious nor pretentious; but each family has a separate dwelling with Western amenities.

Many newly-established African townships go much further than merely providing accommodation. Mzilikazi Township at Buluwayo has a White City Stadium — splendidly laid out and equipped with a swimming bath, cycle-track and various sports fields — a school, and Mpilo Hospital (one of Rhodesia's major hospitals). A similar lay-out obtains in the African township near the Cam and Motor Gold Mine at Eiffel Flats, where there is a stadium, running-track and football field alongside the employees' detached bungalows. At Umtali, where there are 9,000 Europeans and 35,000 Africans, the European residents over the years have built 6,000 houses for Africans: also a stadium, swimming-pool, picture-theatre, infant schools and crêches.

Wherever possible, the Government is anxious that the African worker should be helped to own his own home — this, of course, not applying to casual workers who come and go; but to those trained for particular work who have a settled future in the town of their choice. Privately-owned African housing has made steady progress by means of Building Societies and Loan Development Corporations. Increasingly, the urban African family is buying its own home for R\$30 down, and 30 years to pay.

The township of Marimba Park, about 8 miles from Salisbury, is planned as a residential area for the high-income sector of the African population. A residence on 2 acres of ground cost (in 1968) about £5,500. It consisted of 9 rooms (3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, with study, garage and servants' quarters). Typical houses of this type (which would be envied by many Europeans) are pleasant, gabled bungalows with tiled roofs and garages. A photograph shows the African owner of a £7,500 home standing in his attractive lounge with fireplace, pictures and filled bookshelves. This house-owner is a self-educated farm hand, now the owner of a bus company. His wife is a trained teacher, and they have 4 children.

A £22,000 property in Marimba Park, also set in 2 acres, is a spacious two-storey house with verandahs and a well-cultivated garden. An Austrian M.P., Dr. Friedrich Konig, said during a visit to Rhodesia in 1971 that he had been impressed by the housing provided for Africans. "Tremendous efforts have been made," said Dr. Konig, "to build decent homes for the people."

IX. HEALTH. Rhodesia's doctor-Premier, Sir Godfrey Huggins, always felt strong compassion for the plight of sick Africans. Back in 1911, the young surgeon was operating in an old "multi-racial" hospital in Salisbury, where only a passage separated the operating theatre from the African ward. Huggins took much trouble over his African cases, who of course were treated free of charge. He once amused the Rhodesian Parliament by telling how he had to support two African cripples, who when discharged from hospital refused to leave him! Elsewhere in Salisbury, Africans were treated for chicken-pox and measles: and Huggins also had a few private African patients, going one night to deliver an African baby in a distant suburb.

In the 1918 post-war 'flu epidemic, white officials did all they could for stricken African industrial workers: and in 1928 Huggins — who now, rather to his own surprise, found himself a Backbencher in Moffat's Government — called for extended medical services for Africans. In 1935, the still-practising surgeon who by this time — even more to his own surprise — was Premier of the new Reform Party, greatly improved conditions in what were then called the Native Reserves. The major achievement of his long Premiership (he was Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for 23 years) was probably the establishment of the African health services.

Rural Cottage Hospitals. In earlier times, the British South Africa Company had established a few Government dispensaries in the Reserves: but now a much more ambitious programme got under way. The dispensaries were replaced by a number of cottage-hospitals whose red or green roofs, visible for miles in the bush, became centres of front-line medicine and practical examples to the tribesmen of how to combat disease. African medical orderlies were trained to take charge of these centres, which received regular visits from Government doctors and had small theatres where minor surgery could be performed. Trained African microscopists began to work in the more important cottage-hospitals (or rural clinics) and provision was made for moving more serious cases to larger urban hospitals by ambulance.

By 1946, Southern Rhodesia (as it then was) administered 76 of these rural clinics besides ten urban Government hospitals where both Europeans and Africans were treated as in-patients and out-patients. Admission-figures among Africans shot up: this in itself being a triumph for Huggins, who over the years had patiently striven to persuade Africans that hospitals were places to recover from, not to die in. Sick Africans were learning to come earlier to a white doctor with their illnesses; and African women gained confidence in Western maternity care. By 1939, on an election tour, Huggins could truthfully claim that African Rhodesians had a free State medical service.

In 1966, Rhodesia had 2 central and 7 general hospitals: also 30 district hospitals, 65 Medical Missions, 15 health centres and 75 rural clinics (or cottage hospitals) — all for the betterment of African health. The 2 central African hospitals of HARARI and MPILO, in Salisbury and Buluwayo, are amongst the finest on the African continent. Each cost over £1 million to build; and they are better equipped than any of the European hospitals. In 1965/66, Harari and Mpilo received one quarter of the total Budget allocation for Rhodesia's 40 Government hospitals.

Harari Hospital. This 803-bed hospital has over a thousand African out-patients each day. Its 14 wards and 8 operating-theatres deal with about 18,000 in-patients per year, averaging 7,000 operations per year and delivering 7,800 African babies yearly. It has excellent equipment for X-ray therapy, artificial kidney treatment and so on. More than 2,000 Africans a month are X-rayed free of charge. 5 Professors of Medicine from the University Medical School work at Harari, plus 25 full-time Government doctors and 7 part-time consultants. 20% of the medical students are Africans.

In 1967, it was planned to extend Harari by more than 100 beds at a cost of £70,000. The extensions include a 36-bed surgical ward; a 10-bed intensive care ward; and 2 psychiatric wards for 60 patients. The X-ray Department was enlarged to accommodate a new £17,000 diagnostic X-ray machine. In 1967, the hospital's running costs were more than £800,000 per year: but it serves also as a teaching-hospital to train undergraduate and post-graduate medical students, nurses, midwives, laboratory technicians, radiographers, pharmacy students and other hospital staff. Of its 300 nurses, 215 are students who after qualifying, start at £70 a month.

In 1967 it cost just 30/- for an African woman to have her child, including pre- and post-natal care. Usually, about 50 premature babies are being cared for in incubators. For in-patients, the charge was £2 for a man and 10/- for a woman or a child, however long they stayed. A male outpatient paid 2/6d. and a woman or child paid 1/-. Total revenue from patients in 1967 was about £50,000 per year.

Mpilo Hospital provides comprehensive services for Africans for a great area around Buluwayo. Here, also, there is training to international standards. Mpilo's Outpatients' Department deals with several thousand cases per week.

In 1968, the Minister of Health officially opened the new £390,000 hospital at CHIREDZI, in the centre of the fast-developing Lowveld. This first stage of the hospital includes 123 beds, of which 108 are for Africans. The hospital has been planned to accommodate a future total of 600 patients; with the necessary operating-theatres, X-ray departments, laboratories, kitchens and laundries. At the official opening, the Minister emphasised how much the Government depended on the recently-established local (African) Rural Council to collaborate with his Department in the maintenance and improvement of public health in the Chiredzi district.

In 1968, plans were outlined for the development of existing hospitals and for the staged development of a new Salisbury Central Hospital.

1964 United Nations' Report.

Doctors. Rhodesia had one Dr. for every 4,500 inhabitants.

Ghana had one Dr. for every 18,000 inhabitants.

Liberia had one Dr. for every 29,000 inhabitants. (This is the only African State run by Africans for over 120 years).

Hospital Beds.

Rhodesia had one bed for every 330 inhabitants.

Ghana } had one bed for every 1,100 inhabitants.
Sudan }

Ethiopia had one bed for every 3,500 inhabitants.

Liberia had one bed for every 4,000 inhabitants.

By 1968, Rhodesia had 4 hospital beds per 1,000 of its population: and could admit 125 people in every 1,000 to hospital in the course of a year.

National Programme for Health Education. In 1967, announcing the appointment of Rhodesia's first Health Education Officer, the Minister of Health stated that Rhodesia's annual hospital admission-rate of 115 Europeans and 125 Africans per 1,000 of the population was high compared with the average rate of 75 per 1,000 in most Western countries. White Rhodesians prefer treatment in hospital rather than at home, and African Rhodesians tend to incur a rather high rate of preventable illness. To keep pace with demands for hospital accommodation, 500 new hospital beds would be needed each year — an increasing burden under sanctions — or else preventable disease must be reduced.

For this purpose, the newly-appointed Health Education Officer would spearhead a campaign for all races through schools and various communications media. One of his main concerns would be to increase public awareness of Bilharzia (an unpleasant disease in Africa, caused by snail-parasites in streams and rivers). A year later, in 1968, Health Department officials were able to report that thanks to the Bilharzia campaign, at least 43% of schoolchildren of all races no longer entered water known to be infected. At the same time, a new skin-test for detecting Bilharzia was planned to be used on a massive scale in Rhodesian schools. Rhodesia is the first small country to manufacture the Bilharzia "antigen" in such large quantities; the feat being a considerable success for the Blair Laboratory in Salisbury which manufactured the antigen from methods laid down by the World Health Organisation. By using the antigen test, the Rhodesian Ministry of Health hopes to reduce the number of Bilharzia cases among schoolchildren from about 600 in 60,000 to about 25.

In 1968, a mass X-ray campaign was mounted in Rhodesia's mining industry, to fight T.B. It is now compulsory for mine employees and their families to have X-ray certificates before they can work in a mine classified as free from T.B.

Women's Health and Nutrition Schemes. Gatooma and Hartley have for several years run one of these schemes. The work is now extended to Rimuka and Ngesi Townships, also to mines and farming areas. An African health worker, with 4 African assistants, works under a European leader — all women. Deaths of children due to bad feeding have dropped steadily since the scheme began. This women's team not only teaches about food, but reminds African Women's Clubs that flies can spread disease and cause blindness. Each week the African health worker, who is employed by Gatooma Municipality, visits at least 6 Women's Clubs to teach about food and hygiene.

International Medical Congress. In 1968, this was held in Buluwayo — a great honour for Rhodesia. In the same year, despite sanctions, history was made when the first wholly Rhodesian-trained doctors completed their final exams, at the University College of Rhodesia.

X. — WELFARE AND WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS.

(a) Welfare. Moffat, Premier of Rhodesia in 1928, was a sincere believer in the principle of Trusteeship for the welfare of the African population, as incorporated in the Southern Rhodesian Native Affairs Department set up with the approval of the British Government. In 1938, the Bledisloe Commission, investigating the possibility of Central African Federation, stated in its report that free-governed Southern Rhodesia was providing more social services for Africans than Northern Rhodesia, which was administered under the Colonial Office.

In 1941, Lord Hailey's report stressed the high quality of Southern Rhodesia's social services for Africans. In the earlier days of the British South Africa Company, the reports of the Chief Native Commissioner give details of efforts in many directions for the mental and physical well-being of African Rhodesians.

Rhodesia, like every other part of the former British Empire in Africa, gave benevolent consideration to African welfare: and this policy continues. In 1968, there was an expansion of Social Services in African townships. Government and Municipal authorities both stressed the need for this. In the same year, the annual report of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government announced the intention of introducing a scheme whereby urban communities could establish representative bodies capable of running various social services. For Salisbury's African townships of nearly 95,000 residents, 2 new senior posts in the social services have been created, viz. a Senior Social Organiser, and a Sports Coach and Organiser.

This social services section already has a staff of 10 senior administrative officers and 110 workers in various grades. There has been a marked increase in African sporting activities; there being a number of P.T., weight-lifting and boxing gymnasia besides activities like soccer and netball. Boys' and youth clubs in 1967 had a membership of 2,233; and girls' clubs had 886 members. In 1968, despite a very severe year of drought, not a single black Rhodesian starved or lacked medical attention. By contrast, Zambia and Nigeria both asked for British help in money or food.

The Salisbury Child Protection Society's African centre at Highfield Township has been caring for African children since 1962, and has handled 664 children. A new venture will be run in conjunction with the Red Cross. It will be a course in mothercraft, including simple hygiene; and will begin with 4 African girls undergoing training at the centre.

Run on the lines of a crèche, the centre will cater only for the children of African women who have to go out to work. It will take about 50 children, and be run on a non-profit basis. Mothers will be charged an amount they can easily afford. This will be the Society's biggest venture to date, and will employ a permanent staff of Europeans and Africans.

(b) Women's Organisations. In 1969, the Minister of Internal Affairs, presenting certificates to the 10 African women Advisers on Community Development at the end of their course on Leadership Training for Women, said that the role of African women was paramount. Because of her responsibilities for family and children, the woman's influence in the home and community could be the deciding factor in turning her children's and husband's minds away from the age-old conception of subsistence-living to an understanding of wider horizons.

Increased expectation of life, due to improved health and welfare standards, meant that subsistence-living could result in famine. Another factor was the size of Rhodesia's child-population, and here African women could limit their families to a size compatible with a higher standard of living and enlightenment. The Community Development Wing for women aims at encouraging Clubs and individual women to play an active part in community and Local Government affairs: and to inculcate leadership, self-reliance, local enterprise, and the ability to run their own affairs.

African Women's Clubs. These Clubs flourish all over Rhodesia, being run by their own African chairwomen and organising committees. A number of clubs in a single district will band together for dressmaking, cooking and sewing contests. Or they will combine for a District Show, with exhibits of a high standard of cooking, handcraft and home-care projects. Others arrange an "area day" for members to visit various demonstrations and exhibitions. Others combine for short courses on nutrition and home organisation. Seven Clubs in the Salisbury area compete annually for a Netball Shield: and another African women's group

runs a most energetic and progressive Red Cross section of 97 members. The leadership of its first-class African chairwoman has inspired a great sense of pride and duty. 32 members have received their First Aid badges, and pass on their knowledge to others.

The African leader of 21 Women's Clubs in Matabeleland believes in combining the usual instruction in handwork and homecraft with practical demonstrations in the growing of vegetables and the proper breeding of rabbits, guinea-pigs and poultry. African women are certainly learning to play their part in the wellbeing of Rhodesian Africans.

XI. — POPULATION. Since 1900, roughly $\frac{1}{2}$ million Africans in Rhodesia have grown to over 4 million. Of these, 2.2 million (1967) were under 17 years of age: so that those actually capable of voting were about 1.8 million. Additionally, 250,000 "foreign" Africans come annually from bordering countries to work in Rhodesia. Thus the much-publicised "4 million voiceless ones" are reduced to about one million. Nor are these by any means voiceless.

The African population increases at the rate of 3.5% per annum, roughly doubling itself every 25 years. Main reasons:—

(i) **Law and order.** Tribal warfare was last recorded in Rhodesia in 1897. This, with slavery, took decimating toll of all age-groups.

(ii) **Health, Hygiene and Agricultural Education.** Thanks to European health-standards, the African's life-span has greatly increased. Endemic diseases such as malaria and bilharzia are controlled. Pre- and post-natal care, and the availability of foods for infants unable to thrive on mother's milk, have reduced infant mortality. Modern farming techniques, especially the teaching of soil and water conservation, have countered the effects of drought and famine. From all these causes, the African death-rate in Rhodesia has been reduced from about 40 per thousand per annum to about ten per thousand.

(iii) **African Birth-rate.** Though its death-rate has been reduced by three-quarters, the African population in Rhodesia clings in the main to its customary ideas about begetting children. There is no limit to the number of wives a tribal African can have. The prosperous tribesman collects wives as he collects cattle. He automatically acquires his brothers' widows, and has first refusal of his wives' younger sisters.

Adultery is no offence for an African male, though compensation may be claimed on behalf of the woman. This sometimes leads to an abominable racket among the so-called "guardians" of young girls, who encourage the latter in seduction and then collect the fines. There is still much scope for the "Child Protection Societies" such as the one in Highfield Township near Salisbury.

Immigrant Africans are another cause of the uncontrolled increase in African births in Rhodesia. On arrival, an immigrant purchases a wife — or merely lives with a girl — and raises a large family. At present, under Rhodesian law, these children can obtain Rhodesian birth-certificates; and even if the whole family returns to the father's country of origin, the Rhodesian-born children may return to Rhodesia if they wish. The descendants of these "foreign" Africans have no affiliation with any of the Rhodesian Chiefs, and are thus quite outside the average tribesman's laws, customs and kinship. Yet they are given the full concessions and advantages available to true Rhodesian-Africans.

For instance, whereas among Europeans bigamy is an offence and marriages only recognised if properly registered, an African's multiple marriages are recognised whatever form they take. Income-tax regulations actually encourage Africans to have over-large families, since all a man's children by all his wives are eligible for income-tax rebate. It would seem that the Rhodesian Government will have to tighten up regulations concerning the registering of marriages and births among all Africans in Rhodesia, including the "foreigners." Some moral code concerning marriages among Africans will surely have to be insisted on: also women should be given more civil rights, with custody and guardianship of the children in the event of the father's death.

African Family Planning. Strenuous efforts are being made in Rhodesia to bring home to Africans the danger of over-population. In his Budget statement of 1968, the Rhodesian Minister of Finance urged upon Rhodesian Africans that family planning was the answer, if they wished to achieve a higher standard of living and to ensure sufficient employment opportunities for those following on.

"Majority Rule." Every civilised benefit enjoyed by the Rhodesian African has been brought to him by the European. On his own, he could not sustain these benefits. He pays only 10% of the taxes that keep the national machine running. Is it reasonable to suggest that he should check all progress, simply because favourable conditions have allowed him to multiply undisturbed?

XII. — "POLICE STATE" AND TERRORISM. In 1967, three responsible Americans — a professor, an editor and a lawyer — visited Rhodesia to see for themselves whether the United Nations was right when it stated that: "The present situation in Southern Rhodesia constitutes a threat to international peace and security." These three men ("American Congressional Record," April, 1967) reported: "....the present situation is one of utter calm. We never heard a (police) siren: we seldom saw even a traffic-officer: we never noticed so much as a side-arm. On the streets, white and black mingle with every appearance of courtesy and good humour. Many theatres and restaurants are open to any customer. In the handsome Queen Victoria Memorial Library, young Africans crowd the reading-rooms. There is no sense of any racial tensions."

Had they visited Salisbury Cathedral, on any Sunday, they might have added that black choristers stand alongside white ones, leading the singing for the mixed congregation.

In 1967 "Totalità," the fortnightly political magazine of the city of Florence, also described a visit to Rhodesia thus: "Complete quiet reigns in Rhodesia, which shows up even more the chaos existing in the countries of Black Africa."

In 1969, the Chief of the London Bureau of the Chicago Tribune visited Rhodesia. His report: "Peace and order prevail. A person can with little worry walk the streets of its cities day and night" — (African Police, who outnumber the whites by two to one, take entire responsibility for law and order at night) — "Even serious local crime has dropped 20% in 3 years."

Rhodesian Police are not armed, except when chasing terrorists on the Border.

How does this tie up with the warning of the "Glasgow Herald" in December, 1967, that "In Rhodesia is a reign of terror, bloodshed and political chaos"? One feels that the above commentators might have noticed it.

In fact, no person lost his life in Rhodesia as a result of police action in civil disturbances between 1896 and July, 1960. This record was broken when two people were killed during riots instigated by a subversive political organisation. From July, 1960, to April, 1968, and including deaths on both sides resulting from action against Communist-trained terrorists, the total loss of life was less than 50. Since then, Communist terrorism has been stepped up.

The Law and Order (Maintenance) Act was passed in 1962, under the Whitehead Government. In August, 1966, this was extended for another two years. During 1966, the number of persons indefinitely restricted under this Act ranged from 306 to 444. In 1967, three Restriction Camps were in operation — at Sengwe, Sikombela and Wha Wha. The latter is mainly for "soft-core" restrictees likely to respond to rehabilitation. The main African extremists, such as Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. Sithole, are under Restriction. Since these leaders of the two main African Nationalist parties in Rhodesia have been restricted, acts of crop-slashing, maiming and poisoning of stock, and the burning of villages are now seldom reported.

The Emergency Powers Act of 1965 was the second of Rhodesia's emergency laws. This permits the renewable 3-months' detention of persons found to be terrorists or collaborators. During 1966, the number of persons detained under this Act ranged from 52 to 159.

Rhodesia's laws of Restriction and Detention are not unique. In 1966, Kenya's Minister for Home Affairs justified his refusal to try, or to release, 8 Opposition Members in these words: "Any Government worth its salt must put the preservation of public security above the convenience of a handful of persons who are doing their utmost to undermine it." Britain has found similar powers to be necessary in Ulster.

Rhodesia has never detained or restricted Members of her Opposition Party (the African United People's Party). But she *has* acted on behalf of her own Rhodesian Africans, who during the worst troubles of Garfield Todd's Administration of 1962/64 sought Government protection but were too terrified of reprisals to testify in court. The same pattern is repeating itself in Ulster, where witnesses and jurors have been threatened with reprisals if they act against agitators. Those who recall with horror the excesses of African against Rhodesian African under the "liberal" rule of Mr. Garfield Todd, can understand the "No Mob Rule" slogan of the present Rhodesian Government.

At a public meeting in London in March, 1968, Mr. R. T. Paget, Q.C., M.P., said: "Powers of detention limited by law and examined by the Courts under Habeas Corpus do not constitute a Police State. They exist everywhere in Africa. They existed" (in Rhodesia) "under Mr. Whitehead before Mr. Smith's Government. Before U.D.I., there was a State of Emergency under which detention was permitted. That State of Emergency was for a specific time: and when the due date came, it was continued by Mr. Smith's Government." The representatives of two men in detention — one white and one black — applied for writs of Habeas Corpus on the ground that their detention was illegal. The release of the two applicants was ordered upon a technicality. The Rhodesian Government was ordered to pay costs and release the applicants, which it did.

"Police States," added Mr. Paget, "do not lose actions. They are not ordered to pay costs and release applicants: and if they were, they would not obey." In Rhodesia, it is recognised that the Government is not above the law.

Extension of Law (Death Penalty). Since November 17th, 1967, any person illegally entering Rhodesia and possessing arms of war will be sentenced to death, unless he immediately abandons his weapons after entering the country. Four terrorists who entered Rhodesia across the River Zambezi just before this date, were told by Mr. Justice Lewis in the Salisbury High Court that they were lucky to escape with a penalty of 20 years' imprisonment each. They had entered the country carrying what the Judge described as a "formidable array" of rifles, pistols, ammunition, slabs of T.N.T., anti-personnel mines and grenades. All had been trained in Communist countries, and all carried pamphlets clearly proving their intention to commit acts of terrorism.

Mr. Justice Lewis added that the reason that these weapons had not been used to kill or injure, was that the terrorists had been harried by Rhodesian security forces and that Rhodesian Africans on the border had refused to co-operate with them.

Why Has This Terrorist Situation Arisen? Who is encouraging the armed men who, without declaration of war, have since 1962 been continuously crossing the border into Rhodesia, intending to kill and to subvert? Absolute proof points to Moscow and Peking. Pamphlets have been found in the possession of the infiltrators: weapons include A.K. rifles and Tokareff pistols: and in March, 1968, the "Sunday Times" carried an article in which a terrorist described how he went to be trained in murder and sabotage by Chinese instructors in Ghana.

In Africa, Russia and China are pooling their technical, military and economic resources to smash the pro-Western bloc in southern Africa (Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and S. Africa) in order to carve a way to Cape Town and thus dominate the Western gateway to the Indian Ocean. Their latest target-date was late 1970.

The wretched people of Zanzibar have paid the price of becoming China's first foothold in Africa. 15,000 of Mao's Chinese are building the uneconomic but politically essential (to the Communists) rail-link from the coast at Dar-es-Salaam to Zambia's capital of Lusaka. The £150 million railway (the "TANZAM Line") is being built on interest-free loans from China. The Chinese are also backing the guerrilla movement "Frelimo," which is attacking Mozambique.

African terrorists, armed by China and Russia, are trained in Algeria, Russia, N. Korea and Tanzania. Most are members of the S. African "African National Congress" (SANC) or the Rhodesian "Zimbabwe African People's Union" (ZAPU). They are indoctrinated with Chinese Communism, and are dedicated to committing the most atrocious acts. *Almost all are Africans preying on Africans.* Before and after U.D.I., black terrorists tried to re-introduce the horrors and intimidation of 1962-64; when atrocities such as hut-burnings (with the occupants inside) and other terrorist acts caused many terrified Rhodesian Africans to carry "membership cards" of both ZAPU and ZANU (the other Rhodesian Nationalist party) to be on the safe side. A European resident saw a young African woman pulled off her bicycle, soaked in petrol and burnt. A black Special Constable, who cycled 16 miles each way every day to the township of Beatrice for duty, had the same horrible fate. No wonder Rhodesian Africans have co-operated with Security Forces on the border.

London, like Washington, has continued in hostile policies towards the white-ruled countries of southern Africa; despite military and diplomatic warnings from those on the spot, and despite the almost blatant unfolding of the overall Communist plan for Africa. Both London and Washington, by their pronouncements in the United Nations, have appeared to encourage the terrorist activities of the "Liberation Committee" of the "Organisation of African Unity." (O.A.U.)

Britain went further. In 1966, monitored reports from Radio Zambia were a direct incitement to violence and murder in Rhodesia. Rhodesian Africans were urged to murder whites, burn their homes and hamstring their cattle.

In August, 1967, the Rhodesian Government sent a Note to the United Kingdom. It wished to draw urgently to the attention of the British Government the following points:—

“That leaders of the two banned Rhodesian Nationalist organisations (ZAPU and ZANU) were directing from Lusaka (Zambia's capital) subversive operations directed against the Rhodesian Government.

“That terrorists, irrespective of their Communist place of training, invariably move from Tanzania to Zambia; where they are billeted in holding-camps within easy striking distance of Rhodesia.

“That in Zambia there are a number of centres for the storage of arms, ammunition and other offensive materials used in the equipping of terrorists. At these centres, ZAPU and ZANU officials brief terrorists in the part they are to play in trying to create fear and uncertainty in Rhodesia.

“That terrorist groups are conveyed quite openly in ZAPU or ZANU vehicles to the Rhodesian border.

“That the Zambian Government not only condones these activities, but assists the passage of terrorists through Zambia from Tanzania.

“That the main supplier of arms to the terrorists is the African Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity in Dar-es-Salaam. The material comes from a number of Communist countries, and is stored in Tanzania ready for distribution.

“That little credence can be given to the assertion of the Zambian Government that it is unaware of the movement of increasingly large numbers of men and materials across Zambia towards Rhodesia.

“That in 1967, from Lusaka, ZAPU and SANC leaders issued a Press statement praising the activities of their terrorist groups operating in Western Matabeland.

“That there had been a complete absence of protest from the British Government to Zambia about the use of Zambia as a base for offensive operations against Rhodesia.

“That this was a case where the Government of one Commonwealth country lent itself to a policy of violence against another Commonwealth country which had committed no aggression.”

The British Government Rejected the Whole of this Note, on the grounds that it did not recognise the Rhodesian Government. On the other hand, in 1968 it supported the UNO resolution urging all States to give “moral and material assistance to the people of Rhodesia in their struggle for freedom and independence.” It connived at the issue of British passports to terrorists trained behind the Iron Curtain. A number of Rhodesian, S. African and Portuguese so-called students, now in Communist countries, travelled via Lusaka, Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi to London, Frankfurt, Rome and Cairo with travel documents issued in Zambia not

only by the British High Commissioner there, but also on letters of identification issued by the African Nationalist offices in Lusaka. Such illegal travel documents were apparently accepted as an authority to issue British passports not only in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi, but also in London.

Over 200 other cases of potential or actual terrorists travelling on British passports are on record. There are cases on record of Rhodesian Nationalist leaders actually negotiating from London with arms suppliers. This could be a dangerous security risk to Britain herself.

Those who want to be "liberated." After nine years, terrorist attacks on Rhodesia have failed to make any impact. Tribesmen in the vast bush-area which is the scene of guerrilla activity have, far from encouraging their "liberators", sighted, tracked and arrested guerrillas themselves. They have reported them to the Security Forces. The vigilance and co-operation of African border farmers and tribesmen has played a big part in guerrilla failure.

The Security Forces consist of black and white members of the army and police. The Army includes the Rhodesian African Rifles, a black Regiment which fought alongside us in Burma and Malaya. Recently an African soldier saved the life, under fire, of a white Police officer: and shortly afterwards, a white Army officer lost his life in trying to save his African C.S.M.

Rhodesian Chiefs talking privately to an Australian visitor in 1967 expressed a deep respect for Prime Minister Ian Smith. They likened him to Cecil Rhodes, with whom their fathers and grandfathers had dealt. Ian Smith's Government, they said, had stopped the reign of terror promoted by the Nationalists. Their people could now go to bed at night free from fear that a petrol-bomb might be thrown into the hut.

African M.P.'s of the Opposition Party in the Rhodesian Parliament have expressed complete solidarity with the Government in its resistance to terrorism. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Percy Mkudu, said it was the duty of any Government to maintain law and order. In September 1967 ("African Times") Mr. J. M. Behane, African M.P. for Matabeleland North, said the police and security forces had done magnificent work against Communist infiltrators. They had done that in the belief that Rhodesia is a country whose standards are worthy of being preserved.

With regard to the Security Forces, Mr. Behane said: "These dedicated men are fighting to preserve peace in Western Matabeleland. I have always stood firmly against terrorism. I will never accept any foreign doctrines..... I believe it is the duty of every citizen of Rhodesia at this time to stand together. It is the duty of every citizen to take up arms to defend this country from Communism."

Mr. Rubatika (M.P. for Makabusi) said on the same occasion: "We are one as a nation of Rhodesia. If the white man should fall, we must pay the price. We stand in admiration of Government's stand in bringing about law and order."

Mr. Chigogo (M.P. for Gokwe) wanted the then British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, to say where the terrorists were being trained, and "whether he has any alliance with those training-camps where Rhodesians are being trained to come and disturb the lives of innocent Tribal Trust Land people and farmers."

In November 1970, a resident of Francistown, Botswana, happened to be driving through Buluwayo in a taxi. Of his own accord, the African taxi-driver began discussing Rhodesia. The conversation being quite unexpected, no tape-recorder was handy; but the "fare" jotted it down afterwards. Since the Rhodesian Front Government took over, said the African driver, Rhodesia was a good country for Africans to live in. "We can eat and drink where the white man does," he went on. "We can walk where we like and go where we like. We have excellent medical services, and our children are being well educated. We know we don't yet have equal representation in the government, but our government is doing a good job looking after us. We know we are not ready to manage things so well ourselves, but we are not worrying, for we know we shall have a greater share as time goes on. I don't know what everybody is making such a fuss about. We're all right."

Many other visitors to Rhodesia have had similar experiences with the ordinary Rhodesian African.

XIII. — THE 5 PRINCIPLES AND THE REAL ISSUE.

1). There must be guaranteed and unimpeded progress to majority rule for Rhodesia's 4 million Africans.

Comment. Rhodesia's 4 million Africans (half of them children) would produce a majority totally incapable, as yet, of organising a just and stable government; and would simply be at the mercy of Nationalist leaders. Not one of Britain's ex-Colonies in Africa has yet achieved a just society based on "majority rule."

2). After agreement on independence, the Rhodesian Constitution must not be amended to make it less democratic.

Comment. The 1970 Rhodesian Republican Constitution is about as fair as it could be; aiming as it does at eventual parity of representation between the races. It is completely democratic in the sense that those not yet eligible to register on the African Rolls — and very many are eligible who do not bother to do so — are still fully represented through the age-old tribal mechanism of discussion at all levels.

3). There must be an immediate improvement in the political status of the Africans.

Comment. What does this mean? Rhodes' dictum of "Equal rights for every civilised man" (and woman) has always been adhered to, in Rhodesia. The operative word, of course, is "civilised." A man who still lives in a mud hut, farming at subsistence-level, is not fit to wield much political power. How can his political status improve? By education, and by learning improved agricultural methods. This way, he learns a cash-economy, takes a greater share in the economic running of the State, and thus qualifies to register for a vote. This is gradually being done: and a prospering African urban middle-class is a glowing tribute to Rhodesia's methods. But such progress is bound to be gradual: it can never be "immediate."

4). There must be progress towards ending racial discrimination.

Comment. This is the well-worn, Communist-inspired UNO slogan. "Racial discrimination" in Rhodesia simply means a recognition of the differences in culture between different races. Rhodesia has produced a fairminded solution to a multi-racial problem.

UNO slogans are invariably applied to non-Communists only. Rhodesia's protection of the rights of all races is "racial discrimination." Could Britain and UNO pause to reflect on the "racial discrimination" in Kenya against its Asians, in Zambia against the Barotse and Lampa people, in Nigeria against Biafra, in the Sudan, in Uganda and — worst of all — in Zanzibar?

5). The conditions proposed for independence must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

Comment. How much more must the acceptability of the present Rhodesian Government be demonstrated? Urban Rhodesian Africans vote, and have elected representatives in Parliament. Rural Rhodesian Africans make their voices heard through their Headmen and Chiefs. All these have stood solidly behind their Government against terrorism. Only Black Nationalist leaders have no elected authority. They represent neither the voting African nor the tribal African.

The Real Issue. The fact is, of course, that all pressure against Rhodesia is pressure against the white man and Western civilisation. Since 1969, Tanzania has become Red China's most important strong-hold in Africa. Scores of Chinese vessels use Dar-es-Salaam harbour, where high walls screen the Chinese-built naval harbour already provided with fast armed patrol-boats. Tanzanian Air Force pilots are being trained in China to fly jets. Dar-es-Salaam broadcasting station was built by the Chinese. Among cargo and personnel unloaded from Chinese ships at "Dar," it is known that China is pouring in military supplies and instructors. The P.L.A. (Chinese People's Liberation Army) supplies medium-tanks, trucks, A.A. guns, armoured cars, weapons and munitions. At Nachingwea, near the Mozambique border, they are building a £630,000 barracks.

Teams are working in 24-hour shifts to complete the Tanzam Railway before 1975. This railway is intended to bring Zambia (already heavily infiltrated) into the Chinese camp; and to assist in military operations against the south. It is against this background that we must view the World Council of Churches' recent huge grant of funds to Frelimo, the Chinese-backed terrorist group attacking the Portuguese in Mozambique.

The Congo and Communist China have signed a military agreement for the supply of weapons and instructors. This is the "Red Belt" creeping across the waist of Africa, aiming to combine with Russian naval pressure attacking the Cape sea-routes.

And President Nyerere, in receipt of vast military aid from China, expostulates at the idea of British arms to South Africa! The British taxpayer heavily subsidises Communist-infiltrated Zambia. He has spent millions on sanctions against Rhodesia which, if it fell, would open the way to triumphant Communist domination of the whole African continent. In Mozambique the Portuguese have 40,000 troops fighting Frelimo guerrillas, at heavy cost. If Mozambique or Angola collapsed, the full brunt of the Communist attack would fall on Rhodesia.

This guerrilla gangsterdom is the pattern of future war. It is undeclared: but it is fought with Chinese and Russian arms, and largely financed by organised international drug-running. It is a war of stealth, infiltration, ambush and booby-trap. Its mercenaries are toughs, criminals and drop-outs hired from all parts of Africa and directed by cynical Communist "intelligentsia" who keep well out of the way of danger. The head of Frelimo, dedicated to horror-tactics against Mozambique, is Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, Ph. D., ex-U.N. Staff, who alternates between a luxurious house over-looking the harbour of Dar-es-Salaam and an equally luxurious home in Washington.

UNO is infiltrated with Communism: and the British Council of Churches and World Council of Churches have likewise swallowed the bait. Both have supported U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia, which were illegally applied. Both show a Left-wing bias in their pronouncements. Both ignore atrocity and injustice in the Communist world.

One brave Rhodesian Churchman, Archdeacon Lewis of Inyanga, has never hesitated to speak out. In 1968 he said: "If the British Government and UNO get their way, we shall be another Congo or Nigeria. Moderates in Rhodesia are conscious of social wrong and injustice: but it is nothing to what obtains elsewhere. The parties that would rule us are still knifing each other, exiled in Zambia. The 'Six Principles' somehow did not apply in Aden."

In 1969 he said: "If Christian rule is welfare of the majority and protection of minorities, then Church criticism should be directed against the new Black-ruled one-party States and military governments. No Christian has a moral right to resort to persecution to enforce his views. Why does the 'fifth principle' not apply to Black-ruled States? Forcing the voting system on unprepared people can mean that a demagogue can get into power by threats and extravagant promises." In 1967, Archdeacon Lewis was supported in his opinions by the African Bishop Mashasha, of St. Peter's Mission in Que Que Reserve. Archdeacon Lewis has since been demoted. At whose instigation?

Sanctions. UNO twisted its own rules and constitution in applying sanctions to Rhodesia; which was accused and sentenced without its defence being heard — this at the instance of alleged supporters of "Human Rights"! Anti-Rhodesian propaganda is almost invariably heard on the B.B.C. and in most newspapers.

Officially, sanctions have cost Britain £176 million, but many economists consider the overall cost to be nearer £400 million. In 1967, £14 million of British taxpayers' money went to Zambia, hardest hit by sanctions, and was largely used to build the costly road and rail links to Communist Congo and Tanzania, and establish the air-lift to Tanzania, although Rhodesian railways were ready to carry Zambian goods as usual. £500,000 was spent in establishing the pirate radio station in Botswana, to broadcast subversive propaganda into Rhodesia; and then troops had to be sent to guard it from the irate people of Francistown. The Royal Navy was still blockading the Mozambique Channel in 1971.

In October, 1971, Sir Alec Douglas-Home was reported thus: "The main principle is unimpeded progress towards majority-rule, without a time-scale." Will that policy prove to be in the best interests of Britain, or in the best interests of black or white Rhodesians? Farcically undemocratic régimes in Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Nigeria and Ghana — not to mention Chinese-controlled Tanzania — have all received British recognition and financial aid.

"Who holds Africa holds the key to Europe."
Which side are we on ?

XIV. PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT. The following simplified version of the proposals has been issued by the office of the Rhodesian Prime Minister:—

The Constitution of Rhodesia will be the Constitution adopted in Rhodesia in 1969, modified as follows:—

The House of Assembly. (i) The existing provisions governing the increase of African representation in the House will be repealed and replaced by the following provisions.

(ii) A new roll of African voters, called the African higher roll, will be created with the same qualifications as those for the roll of European voters.

(iii) When the number of voters on the African higher roll equals 6% of the number of voters then registered on the European roll, two additional African higher roll seats will become due and an election for these two seats will take place forthwith. When the number of African voters on the higher roll equals 12% of those on the European roll, a further two seats will become due. These two seats will be filled by voting in the Tribal electoral colleges.

(iv) This procedure will continue until there are 34 more African Members of Parliament and the total will be 50, that is, the same number as the Europeans. Of the 50 African Members, eight will have been elected by the lower roll of African voters, 24 will have been elected by the Tribal electoral colleges, and 18 by the voters on the African higher roll. At this stage there will be approximately equal numbers of voters on the African higher and European rolls, and parity will have been attained.

(v) So far as the African lower roll is concerned, the qualifications for voters will be aligned with the qualifications for the B Roll in the 1961 Constitution, but the application form will be simplified and registering officers will be permitted to assist the applicant.

(vi) Within a year after parity has been reached, all voters enrolled on both African rolls will vote to decide whether or not the 24 seats filled by Tribal electoral colleges should be abolished and replaced by an equal number of seats filled by ordinary election by voters on the African higher roll. The legislature may, however, decide that up to six of the new seats be African lower roll instead of higher roll seats.

(vii) The Constitution will provide for progress beyond parity by the creation of 10 Common Roll seats to be filled by election by the voters registered on the African higher roll. However, at that stage a commission will ascertain from the people of Rhodesia whether they wish these seats to be created or whether some alternative arrangement would be preferable. Any alternative arrangement would require to be passed with a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Parliament.

The Senate. The Senate will continue to be constituted as at present, and the position of the Chiefs will be maintained. As there will be a justiciable Declaration of Rights, the Senate Legal Committee will be abolished.

Declaration of Rights. The Declaration of Rights, which is fully set out in the White Paper, will be justiciable. By that is meant that any person who believes that his fundamental rights and freedoms have been infringed in any way has the right to seek redress through the High Court. The new Declaration will be substantially the same as the Declaration which formed part of the 1961 Constitution.

Amendments to the Constitution. No amendments to the Constitution will be sought for at least three years or before the first two additional African Members of Parliament have been elected and taken their seats, whichever is the sooner. Furthermore, none of the more important provisions of the Constitution may be amended unless the proposed amendment has the support, in each House of the legislature, of two-thirds of all its members and also a majority of the African Members and a majority of the European Members in the House of Assembly.

Review of Existing Legislation. The Rhodesian Government has intimated to the British Government its firm intention, within the spirit of these proposals, to make progress towards ending racial discrimination. Accordingly, an independent commission will be set up to examine the question of racial discrimination. The commission will comprise two Europeans and one African, and its membership will be agreed with the British Government. It will be required to consider existing legislation and to make recommendations to the Rhodesian Government on ways of making progress towards ending any racial discrimination.

Among the functions of the commission will be a special duty to scrutinize the provisions of the Land Tenure Act and to consider the possible creation of an independent and permanent Land Board to preside over the long-term resolution of the problems involved. The Rhodesian Government recognizes that the findings of the commission will carry special authority and have given assurance that it will commend to Parliament such changes in existing legislation as are required to give effect to its recommendations, subject only to considerations that any Government would be obliged to regard as of an overriding character.

Land. Both Governments agree that they will devote a proportion of the money which will be specially provided for aid to immediate improvement of areas currently occupied by Africans or intended for African occupation.

Development Programme. The two Governments attach the greatest importance to the expansion of the economy of Rhodesia and, in particular, to stimulating economic growth in the Tribal Trust Lands. There will therefore be a development programme to increase significantly educational and job opportunities for Africans in order to enable them to play a growing part in the country's future development, and early discussions between the two Governments will be held to agree on this programme and the best means of implementing it. The British Government will provide up to £5 million a year for a period of 10 years in capital aid and technical assistance to be applied to purposes and projects to be agreed with the Rhodesian Government to be matched appropriately by sums provided by the Rhodesian Government for this development programme.

This will be in addition to the annual expenditure currently planned by the Rhodesian Government for African education and housing and for development projects in the Tribal Trust Lands and African Purchase Areas. Part of this development programme will be devoted to the establishment of new irrigation schemes, intensive cultivation projects, industrial projects and the improvement of communications in the Tribal Trust Lands and African Purchase Areas.

As regards education, the money will be used to improve and expand facilities for Africans in agriculture, technical and vocational training, teacher training and training in administration and for other educational purposes in the field of primary, secondary and higher education. The parallel development of the two elements in this programme will thus help to ensure that new job opportunities for Africans will become available as the economy expands and additional educational facilities are provided for them.

Other Matters. (i) As vacancies occur in the Rhodesian Public Service they will be filled according to the criteria of merit and suitability, regardless of race. The Rhodesian Government has undertaken to take steps to enable an increasing number of Africans to fit themselves to compete on equal terms with candidates of other races so far as appointments or promotions are concerned.

(ii) Rhodesian citizens who have left Rhodesia for any reason will be allowed to return freely and without being subjected to any restrictions by reason of their past activities, but without amnesty in respect of any criminal offence.

(iii) The Rhodesian Government wishes to revoke the State of Emergency at the earliest opportunity. In the absence of unforeseen circumstances it will do so after sanctions against Rhodesia have been lifted.

Implementation. As soon as the British Government is satisfied that Rhodesians have accepted these proposals and that the Rhodesian Government has passed the necessary legislation giving effect to them, it will introduce the necessary legislation to recognize Rhodesia as an independent Republic. Their economic and other sanctions will be terminated when this legislation takes effect.

Both countries will take steps to regularize relations between them and to regularize matters affecting the personal status of individuals.

The British Commission. The Terms of reference of the British Commission to test Rhodesian opinion of the settlement proposals are as follows:—

To satisfy themselves that the proposals for a settlement have been fully and properly explained to the population of Rhodesia;

To ascertain by direct contact with all sections of the population, whether the people of Rhodesia as a whole regard these proposals as acceptable as a basis for independence;

And to report to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary accordingly.

It should be emphasised that the Commission must give a Yes or No report: it cannot recommend changes in the proposals.

Comment. The Rhodesian Government has done its best to prove to the British Government that an effort is being made, and always has been made, to tackle justly a racial problem unknown (as yet) in this country. Voting rights, ever since the hoisting of the Union Jack, have been available in Rhodesia to "every civilised man."

"Racial discrimination" is the battle-cry of all who refuse to recognise that coloured races have a totally different culture and outlook from our own. "Separate Development," with fair representation, is no crime.

No country in the world so richly deserves, and has so little received, financial aid from Britain as Rhodesia. An aerial survey would show the phenomenal achievements over the past 40 years of land-development replacing primitive methods. Africans usually prefer light-area soils, suitable for hand-cultivation. Soil in European areas is usually heavier and harder to work — a fact never grasped by critics of Rhodesia's land policy.

For years, Rhodesia has aimed at developing the Tribal Trust Lands and raising African standards in education, housing, health and opportunities for work. The wonder is that a small State has done so much unaided. £5 million a year for 10 years is modest compared with millions poured into chaotic Black States.

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The British Commission sent to test the acceptability of the Proposals appears to be impartial; unlike the Wilson type of Commission which, had it been accepted after the "Tiger" talks, had instructions to inform every Rhodesian of Britain's opposition to the U.D.I. Constitution (embodying intact the franchise rules agreed by Britain and Rhodesia in 1961) — thereby, as previously emphasised, turning an impartial Commission into a propaganda vehicle.

250,000 "foreign" Africans work in Rhodesia. How many come under the influence of agitators? The real feelings of African Rhodesians are expressed either by their traditional leaders — Headmen, Indunas and Chiefs — following careful discussion: or by the urban African "man-in-the-street."

The lifting of Sanctions would be a great step forward, but would not alter the situation necessitating Rhodesia's State of Emergency. Rhodesia is as much the object of Communist-inspired terrorism as is Ulster, suffering from the I.R.A. In Ulster, the British Government has agreed with the policy of internment of dangerous agitators, supporting its agreement with British troops.

Rhodesia, loyal in heart to Britain and threatened more desperately than Ulster, is battling on.

POSTSCRIPT (June 1972). By Ewart Redfern.

On 25th May 1972 the Pearce Commission reported that the majority of Europeans, Asians, and Coloureds were in *favour* of the British settlement proposals and that most of the 6% of the Africans who were consulted were not. The farcical "conclusion" was that the terms were NOT acceptable as a basis for independence by Rhodesians "as a whole."

Such was the result of this futile political charade by British politicians and the British Foreign Office; and many people, with the interests of Rhodesia at heart, breathed a sigh of relief.

What of the future ?

Should new "principles" be adopted ?

Should Britain stop trying to dictate "terms" to a state which has governed itself for over 40 years and has been "independent" since 1965 ?

Should Sanctions be abandoned ?

The following are offered as new basic principles for relationships within and between separate "states":—

- 1) **That Central and Local Government should be fair, efficient, stable and incorruptible.**
- 2) **That there should be no interference by any State in the internal affairs of any other State.**
- 3) **That conditions be created whereby industrious individuals of any colour or culture can enjoy equivalent standards of living and employment.**
- 4) **That industrious citizens of any colour or culture should not be dispossessed of the development or possessions they have purchased or created.**
- 5) **That merit should be the main consideration for appointments and that colour, creed, culture, majority, or minority should be of secondary importance.**

If these are worthy aims then those who have studied " Rhodesian Record " will know that Rhodesia can be proud of that record.

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Further copies of " RHODESIAN RECORD " are obtainable from the
author, Miss H. M. Crawford, at 28A, York Place, Harrogate, Yorkshire.

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